Art. XIV.—*The Divine Comedy of Dante and the Virâf-nâmeh of Ardâi Virâf*—By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

[Read, 26th February 1892.]

This paper is intended to give a few points of striking resemblance between Dante's account of his visit to the other world as given in his Divine Comedy and that of the visit of the Persian Dastur Ardâi Virâf as given in the Pehelvi Virâf-nâmeh.

The circumstances under which Dante wrote his Divine Comedy are well-known to many. Therefore, I will not dwell upon them here but proceed to describe the circumstances under which Ardâi Virâf is said to have made his pilgrimage to the other world.

According to the three introductory chapters of Virâf-nâmeh, after the overthrow of the ancient Irânian monarchy by Alexander the Great, there was a good deal of disorder and scepticism in Irân. This was the result, it is said, of the foolish conduct of Alexander who burnt the religious literature of the country and put to death many of its spiritual and temporal leaders. Alexander is, therefore, spoken of in the Pehelvi book in question as the "gazaçtê Alexieder," *i.e.*, the cursed Alexander. This state of disorder and scepticism continued with some short intervals, for a very long time. At last, in order to put an end to this state of affairs, a few religious and god-fearing men met together in the great fire-temple of Âtash Farobâ, somewhere in the district of Cabul. They discussed the question very freely, and unanimously came to the conclusion that they must take some measures to put an end to that state of disorder in matters of religion. They

said: "Some one of us must go to, and bring intelligence direct from, Divine Intelligence." They resolved upon calling a general meeting of the people to elect a properly qualified person for the divine mission. The people met and selected, from among themselves, seven men, who, on account of their great piety and on account of the purity of their thoughts, words, and deeds, were best qualified for divine meditation. These seven then selected from among themselves the three best, who again, in their turn, selected from among themselves one by name Ardâi Virâf who belonged to the town of Nishâpur. Virâf, before submitting to this selection of himself, wished to ascertain what the sacred divination was about his election. As in the choice of Mathias, as the last Apostle, he desired to determine by lot the sacred divination. He said: "If you like, draw lots for the (other) Mazdayaçnâns and myself. If the lot falls to me, I shall go with pleasure to that abode of the pious and the wicked, and I will carry faithfully this message and bring a reply truthfully." The lots were drawn thrice and they fell to Virâf. Virâf then retired to a quiet place, washed himself, put on a new clean set of clothes and said his prayers. He then drank three cups of a sacred somniferous drink in token of "Hûmata, Hûkhta and Hvarshta," *i.e.*, good thoughts, good words and good deeds. The somniferous drink and the deep and divine meditation soon threw him into an unusually long sleep which lasted for seven days and nights. The place of his retreat was guarded from interference by several pious men. Virâf rose from this meditative sleep at the end of the seventh day, and then described to his anxious hearers his vision of his visit to the other world.

We are not in a position to fix the exact date when Virâf lived, but this much can be said with certainty that he lived at some period between the reign of Shapur II. and the Arab Conquest, *i.e.*, between the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the seventh.

From a literary point of view, there can be no comparision between the Divine Comedy and the Virâf-nâmeh. Dante's work is considered to be a masterpiece of Italian poetry. Virâf-nâmeh has no claim to any literary excellence. In the Divine Comedy it is the heavenly pilgrim himself, who records the vision of his imaginary visit to the next world in his best poetic style. The Virâf-nâmeh, though it describes the vision in the words of the pilgrim himself, is the work of somebody else, who narrates in simple prose what he supposes to be a great event in the religious history of the country.

The arrangement in the description of their respective visions is well nigh the same. Both the pilgrims at first make their own observations on what they see in their heavenly journey. They then put questions to their guides asking information on what they see, and the guides give an explanation. The questions of Virâf to his guides have, in many cases, assumed a stereotyped form. For example, his question to his guides in his visit of Hell is the same. "Denman tan meman vanâs kard mûn rôbân avin pâdafarâs îdrûnet," *i.e.*, "What sin has this body, whose soul meets with such a punishment, committed?" The questions of Dante are variegated.

The times when both Virâf and Dante wrote were times of great disorder in their respective countries of Irân and Italy. It was religious disorder, which followed the change of dynasties, that led to the vision of Virâf. It was political disorder, which had its reflex in the spiritual life of the country, that influenced the strains of the Italian poet. We have referred above to the religious disorder in Persia at the time when Virâf lived. We will describe here in the words of Mr. Herbert Baynes the state of Italy at the time when Dante wrote.

"The Church and the world were at open warfare, so that society was split into at least two factions, the Papal adherents and the Imperialists . . . The chaos of outer relations had its reflex in the spiritual life of those times . . . Society had lost its ideals. Righteousness had given place to expediency. Hence the prophet of his age had to sing to eager listeners a message of awful grandeur of life-long significance. He could not but show them the Hell in which they were living, the Purgatory, through which, as he believed, it was possible for them to go in order that, by repentance, they might reach the Paradise prepared for the redeemed."*

Now coming to the subject proper of our paper we find that both Virâf and Dante undertook their heavenly pilgrimages after great hesitation, and after great many doubts about their fitness for such a great work. As we saw before, Virâf, before submitting to his selection, wished to ascertain what the sacred divination about his selection was. It was only after determining by lots that he undertook the divine mission (Ch. I.) †. In the case of Dante also we find

* *Dante and his Ideal*, pp. 11-14.

† The numbers of the chapters are according to Dr. Haug's text.

a similar expression of doubts about his fitness for the great mission. When Virgil offers to take him to the other world he says :—

> "Test well my courage, see if it avail,
> Ere to that high task I am sent by thee.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> But why should I go? Who will this concede?
> I nor Æneas am, nor yet am Paul;
> Worthy of that nor I myself indeed,
> Nor others deem me. Wherefore, to this call
> If now I yield, I fear me lest it be
> A journey vain.

(*Hell*, C. II., 11-36.)*

Both Dante and Virâf make their heavenly pilgrimages when in the grasp of profound slumber. Virâf's sleep lasted for seven days and nights. Dante does not tell us for how many days did his vision last. He merely says that he was sleep-opprest.

> "How I there entered, can I not well say,
> So sleep-opprest was I in that same hour
> When from the true path thus I went astray."

(*Hell*, C. I., 10-12.)

Both went through all these parts of the other world, but the order of their visits to these parts is a little different. Virâf first went to the Hamistagân which corresponds to the Christian Purgatory, and then to Paradise, and lastly to Hell. Dante first went to Hell, then to Purgatory, and lastly to Paradise.

Both had two persons as their guides. Virâf had for his guides Sraosh, the messenger of God, and Âtar the angel presiding over fire. Dante had Virgil and Beatrice for his guides. Sraosh and Âtar accompanied Virâf through all the three regions, but Virgil accompanied Dante to Hell and Purgatory and Beatrice to Paradise. The guides of Virâf offer their kind services to him in the following words (Ch. V.): "Come on, we will show you Heaven and Hell, and the light and splendour, rest and comfort, pleasure and cheerfulness, delight and joy, and fragrance that are the reward the righteous people receive in Heaven. We will show you darkness and distress, misery and misfortune, pain and grief, disease and sickness, terror and fright, torture and stench, that are the punishments of various kinds which

* I have followed Dr. Plumptre's translation in these quotations from Dante.

the evil-doers, sorcerers and sinful men undergo in Hell. We will show you the place of the righteous and that of the unrighteous. We will show you the reward of those who have good faith in God and Archangels, and the good and evil which are in Heaven and Hell." Compare with this the words of Dante's guide, Virgil, with which he offers to be the leader of Dante in Hell.

"Wherefore for thee I think and judge 'tis well
That thou should'st follow, I thy leader be,
And guide thee hence to that eternal cell,
Where thou shalt hear sharp wails of misery,
Shalt see the ancient spirits in their pain,
For which, as being the second death, men cry:
Those thou shalt see who, in the hope to gain,
When the hour comes, the blest ones' happier clime
Can bear the torturing fire not yet complain.
To these would'st thou with eager footsteps climb,
A soul shall guide thee worthier far than I."

(*Hell*, C. I., 112-122.)

Both Virâf and Dante find in their guides one who feels offended by their past conduct and who, before leading them forward in their heavenly journey, taunts them for their past offensive deeds. Âtar, the guide of Virâf taunts him for neglecting, and not taking proper care of fire over which he presides (Ch. X.). Beatrice, the guide of Dante, taunts him for neglecting her and not keeping her memory green. (*Purg.*, C. XXX., 121.)

Three steps led Virâf to the top of the Chinvat Bridge,* where the departed souls part, to go to their respective destinations of Heaven, Hell and Hamistagân. Three steps led Dante to the portal of the Purgatory. (*Purg.*, C. IX., 93, Virâf Ch. IV.) The three steps which Dante had to pass over were made of polished marble, rugged stone and fiery porphyry, which symbolized the three elements of penitence, *viz.*, contrition, confession and satisfaction. The three steps of Virâf were those of "humata, hukhta and hvarshta," *i.e.*, good thoughts, good words and good deeds.

The guides of Virâf welcomed him, and taking hold of his hand led him on for the three steps. So did the guide of Dante.

* The Chinvat Bridge of Virâf corresponds to the Sirat of the Mahomedans, the Wogho of the Chinese, and the Giöfell and Bifröst of the Scandinavians.

"O'er the three steps my Guide then led me on
With all good will."

It is over this Chinvat Bridge, that according to Virâf, Mithra, the judge, holds his court, and judging the actions of the departed souls, sends them to Heaven, Hell or Hamistagân. Dante gives to his judge Minos a seat in the second circle of Hell. Dante's Minos only judges the souls of wicked persons. This bridge which leads to the Hamistagân is situated on the top of a mountain. We find Dante's Purgatory also situated on a mountain. (*Purg.*, C. III., 3, 6, 14.)

According to both the pilgrims, the utmost punishment that the souls there suffer are the extremes of temperature, nothing else. The guides of Virâf, speaking to him on this subject, say: "Their punishment is cold and heat (resulting) from the movement of the atmosphere and no other evil (Ch. VI.). The guide of Dante says to him:—

"To suffer freezing cold and torturing blaze
Bodies like this doth Power Supreme ordain
Which wills to veil from us His work and ways."

(*Purg.*, C. III, 31—33.)

Both go direct from the Purgatory to their first Heaven. The heavens of both Dante and Virâf receive their names from the heavenly bodies though their numbers differ. Virâf has four heavens. Dante has ten. The heavens of Virâf are Setar-pâyâ (*i. e.*, of the star pathway), Mâhâ-pâyâ (of the moon pathway), Khorshed-pâyâ (of the sun pathway), and Garotmân. Dante has the following ten heavens—the heavens of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the Fixed Stars, the Primum Mobile, and the Empyrean.

The last Heaven of Dante is the seat of the Almighty God, just as Garotmân, the last Heaven of Virâf, is the seat of Ahura Mazda. Dante saw the divine presence of God in a brilliant point:—

"I saw a point so radiant appear,
So keenly bright, it needs must be the eye
Should shrink and close before its brightness clear."

(*Parad* XXVIII., 16-18.)

Virâf also hears His voice and sees Him in a light. (Ch. CI., 11.)

Both see in Paradise the departed illustrious men of their respective countries. Dante sees there men like Thomas of Aquinas, Albert of Cologne, and Charles Martel. Virâf sees men like Zaroaster, King Vishtâsp, Frashaoster and Jâmâsp. Both see in Paradise the first father

of man. Dante sees and converses with the soul of Adam. Virâf sees the *farohar* or the spirit of Gayomard, the Zaroastrian Adam.

Both have the grades of their heavens rising in importance in proportion to the meritoriousness of their acts. Virâf reserves the higher heavens for the good and just rulers of the land, for devout worshippers, warriors who fight for a just cause, men who destroy noxious creatures that do great harm to mankind, men who add to the prosperity of their country by irrigation and fresh plantations, and women who are possessed of good thoughts, good words and good deeds and who are obedient to their husbands. Dante sees in his higher heavens theologians, martyrs who have met with death while fighting for a good cause, righteous kings, and men who are devoted to pious contemplation.

Both see in Paradise the souls of the pious and the virtuous in brilliant glory. Virâf saw the "Light which is called the highest of the high." "I saw," says he, "the pious on thrones of gold and in gold embroidered clothes. They were men whose brightness was the same as the brightness of the sun (Ch. IX., 4)." Compare with this that which Dante saw in the highest of the highest heavens:—

"Their faces had they all of living flame,
 Their wings of gold and all the rest was white,
That snow is none such purity could claim."

(*Parad.*, XXXI., 13-15.)

Both are rewarded in Heaven for their sacred pilgrimage. St. Bernard asks for salvation on behalf of Dante from the Blessed Virgin :—

" He who stands here, who, from the lowest pit
 Of all creation, to this point hath pass'd
The lines of spirits, each in order fit,
 · On thee for grace of strength himself doth cast,
So that he may his eyes in vision raise
 Upwards to that Salvation noblest, last."

(*Parad.*, C. XXXIII., 22-27.)

Compare with this the words in which Virâf is offered immortality by the souls of the departed virtuous who welcome him to Paradise : "O Holy one, how hast thou come from that perishable world of troubles to this imperishable world free from troubles. Taste immortality, for here you will find eternal pleasure (Ch. VIII.).

St. Bernard, who had, during the last part of Dante's journey to Paradise, taken the place of Beatrice, takes Dante at the end of his journey to the Blessed Virgin. Sraosh and Âtar, the guides of Virâf, take him to the seat of the Almighty.

Both have to communicate their heavenly experiences. At the end of his journey, Dante prays for strength and power to communicate to men what he saw in his heavenly tour :—

> "Oh Light Supreme, that dwellest far away
>   From mortal thoughts, grant Thou this soul of mine
> Some scant revival of that great display,
>   And to my tongue give Thou such strength divine,
> That of Thy glory at the least one beam
>   May to the race to come in beauty shine."

(*Parad.*, XXXIII., 67-72.)

At the end of Viraf's journey, Ahura Mazda asks him to communicate to his countrymen what he saw in the other world. Ahura Mazda says: "O pious Ardâi Virâf, messenger of the Mazdayaçnâns thou art a good servant ; return to the material world. Tell exactly to the world what thou hast seen and learnt. I, Ahura Mazda, am with three. Say to the wise that I recognize and know everyone who speaks the truth" (Ch. CI.). Then with regard to the particular errand for which Ardâi Virâf had made his pilgrimage to the next world, he sends the following message through him to his co-religionists. "O Ardâi Virâf, say to the Mazdayaçnâns of the other world that the way of piety is the only way and that is the way of those of the primitive faith. The other ways are not the proper ways. Follow only that path of piety. Turn not from that path in prosperity or adversity or under any circumstances. Follow good thoughts, good words and good deeds. Continue in the same religion which Zaroaster has received from me and which Vishtâsp has promulgated in the world. Follow the just law and keep away from the unjust one. Bear this in mind that the cattle will be reduced to dust, the horses will be reduced to dust, the gold and silver will be reduced to dust, and the body of man will be reduced to dust, but he alone will not be reduced to dust who praises piety and performs meritorious deeds in this world."

Having spoken of a few points of similarity in the Persian and Italian pilgrims' visions of Heaven we will now speak of Hell.

Before entering into Hell, both come across words which give them an idea of the hopelessly miserable condition of the place. Dante reads those words on the gate of Hell; Virâf hears them from his guides as the utterance of a sinful soul that has just entered into Hell. The characteristic words of despair which Dante reads are: "Ye that pass in, all hope abandon ye" (*Hell*, C. III., 9). Those which Virâf hears are: "Val kudâm zamîk vazrûnan va-mûn pavan panâh vakhdûnam?" *i. e.*, "To which land shall I go? Whose protection shall I take?"

On entering into Hell the guides of both the pilgrims hold them by their hands to give them courage and carry them in safety. Virâf says: "Sraosh and Âtar caught hold of my hand so that I went on without any danger" (Ch. XVII., 1, 2). Dante says:—

"Then me, his hand firm clasped in mine, he brought,
With joyful face that gave me comfort great."

(*Hell*, C. III., 19.)

Both find their hells in the form of an abyss immeasurably deep. Virâf found it like a "pit whose bottom would not be reached by 1,000 cubits. And even if all the wood in the world were put on fire in the most stinking and darkest Hell, it would not give out any smell. And although the souls of the sinful there, are as close to one another as the ear is to the eye, and although they are as many in number as the hair on the mane of a horse, they do not see, nor hear the sound from, one another. Everyone thinks that he is alone" (Ch. LIV. 3—8)., Dante describes the depth of his Hell in a similar tone:—

"And with mine eyes thus rested, I to see
Turned me, stood up, and steadfast gazed around,
To know the region where I chanced to be.
In very deed upon the brink I found
Myself, of that abyss of direst woe,
Where thunders roar, of groans that know no bound
Dark was it, deep, o'erclouded, so below,
That though I sought its depths to penetrate,
Nought to mine eyes its form did clearly show."

(*Hell*, C. IV., 4—12).

Both have to cross a river, and that a large river. before they go further into hell. The river of Virâf was formed by the great number of tears shed after the death of a person. The guides ask Virâf to advise the people of the world not to lament too much for the death of a departed soul, but to submit to it patiently as to a command from God. Mark again that the river spoken of by Dante is Acheron, and is also, as Dr. Plumptre says, "the stream of lamentations."

Both find a number of souls waiting on the other side of the river. Virâf says, "I saw a large river as dark as the gloomy Hell. There were many souls and spirits on that river."

Both ask their guides as to what those rivers are, and what the souls waiting on their shores. Virâf asked, "What is this river, and who are these people that are waiting in a distressed mood?" (Ch. XVI.) This was what Virâf saw and said before he entered into the portals of hell. Compare with this what Dante saw before he entered into the first circle of hell:—

"And when I further looked on that drear seat,
On a great river's bank a troop I saw,
Wherefore I said "O Master, I entreat
That I may know who these are, what the law
Which makes them seem so eager to pass o'er;
As through the dim light they my notice draw."

(*Hell*, C. III., 70—75.)

Dante's guide replies:—

"My son,

Those who beneath the wrath of God have died,
From all lands gather to region dark,
And eager are to pass across the tide."

(*Hell*, C. III., 121—124.)

Both divide their hells in a number of parts, and both see, the last of all, in the deepest hell, Satan, the author of Evil. Dante sees Lucifer in Guidecca, the last of the four concentric circles of the tenth circle. Virâf sees Gunâk-Mino in the last of the different parts of hell.

On entering into the place of the wicked ones, Virâf found a cold wind blowing. A more striking wind than that he had never

27

seen in the world. Compare with this what Dante says of the cold in that part of hell where he saw Lucifer:

> "How icy cold I then became and numb,
> Ask it not, Reader, for I cannot write,
> All language would be weak that dread to sum."
>
> (*Hell*, C. XXXIV., 22—25.)

When Virâf goes near Satan, he hears him taunting the sinful souls that had fallen victims to his evil machinations, in the following words:—"Why were you eating the food supplied to you by God and doing my work? You did not think of your Creator, but acted according to my dictates." Dante sees Lucifer punish Judas, Brutus, and Cassius, who, following his evil temptations, had turned out great traitors.

Though most of the punishments in the hell of Virâf are Persian in their character, and those in the hell of Dante are retributive, according to the notions of the mediæval theology of Europe, there are a few that are common in the visions of both. For example, serpents play a prominent part in the punishments of both. The seventh Bolgia in the hell of Dante, where robbers are punished, is the Bolgia of serpents. According to Virâf, unnatural lust, oppressive and tyrannical misrule, adultery, misappropriation of religious property and endowments, and falsehood are visited with punishments by the sting of dreaded and terrible snakes.

Again, the eating of human skulls and brains is a punishment common to the hells of both the pilgrims. According to Virâf, fraudulent traders who used false measures and weights were made to eat human brains and blood (Ch. LXXX.). So were men, who had got rich by dishonest means and by stealing the property of others, punished in hell by being made to eat human skulls and brains (Ch. XLVI.). An unjust judge, who gave his decisions under the influence of bribes, is made to slay in hell his own children and eat their brains (Ch. XCI.). In Dante we find a victim punish his offender by eating his head and brains. We find that Count Ugolino, who was put into prison on the strength of false accusations of Archbishop Ruggieri, and was there compelled by the pangs of starvation to eat the flesh of his own children, punishes his calumniator Ruggieri in hell by eating his head and brains (Hell, XXXIII.).

The seizing and tearing and flaying of the souls of the sinful by

ferocious animals is also a common punishment in the hells of Virâf and Dante. It is the fierce Cerberus that does all these in the hell of Dante (C. VI., 12-18). It is the Kharfastars (*i.e.*, the noxious animals), the smaller ones of which are as high as mountains, that do all these and annoy the souls of the sinful in the hell of Virâf (Ch. XVIII.).

The suspending of sinful persons with their heads downwards is another punishment common to both (Hell, C. XIX., 22; XXXIV., 14; Virâf, Ch. LXIX., LXXIV., LXXIX., LXXX., LXXXVIII). In Virâf's vision, it is the dishonest judges and traders and seducers that suffer this punishment. In the vision of Dante it is the Simonists that suffer it.

Another punishment common to the visions of both is that of covering the bodies of sinners with heavy metals. According to Virâf, a faithless wife meets the punishment of having her body covered over with heavy iron (Ch. LXXXV.). According to Dante, a heavy mantle of lead is the punishment that a hypocrite meets with in the sixth part of the eighth circle of hell.

The twisting of the different parts of the body is another punishment common to the hells of both. In the eighth circle of Dante's hell it is the soothsayers that meet with this punishment. In Virâf's hell it is the cruel masters who exact too much work from their beasts of burden without giving them adequate food that meet with this punishment (Ch. LXXVII.).

Again, heavy rain and snow, hail stones, severe cold, and foul smells are punishments common to the hell of both the pilgrims. According to Dante, it is a glutton who meets with the punishment of being pelted with rain (C. VI., 53, 54). According to Virâf, those who demolish bridges over rivers, those who are irreverent, those who speak an untruth and perjure themselves, and those who are greedy, avaricious, lusty and jealous, meet with these punishments (Ch. LV.).

Virâf gives a general picture of hell in the following words (Ch. XVIII.):—

"I felt cold and heat, dryness and stench to such an extent as I never saw in the world nor heard of. When I proceeded further, I saw the voracious abyss of hell, like a dangerous pit leading to a very narrow and horrible place, so dark that one must hold (another) by the hand, and so full of stench that anybody who inhales the air by the nose struggles, trembles and falls . . . The noxious creatures tear and seize and annoy the souls of the wicked in the hell in a way that would be unworthy of a dog."

Compare with this Dante's description of the third circle of hell (c. vi., 7—15):—

"——eterne, curst, cold, and working woe,
Its law and state unchanged from first to last;
Huge hail, dark water, whirling clouds of snow
There through the murky air come sweeping on;
Foul smells the earth which drink this in below,
And Cerberus, fierce beast, like whom is none,
Barks like a dog from out his triple jaws
At all the tribes those waters close upon."

Adultery, cheating, misrule, slander, avarice, lying, apostasy, fraud, seduction, pederasty, sorcery, murder, theft, rebellion and such other moral sins are seen by both the pilgrims as punished in hell.

Now the question remains, what is the origin of these two visions? Though the date of Virâf is older than that of Dante, the visions of both seem to come directly from different parents. Though there are many points of resemblance between the two, yet the vision of Virâf is thoroughly Zaroastrian, and that of Dante thoroughly Christian. Their different parents may have a common ancestor of whom little is known, but there seems to be no direct relation between the two. It is not our province to speak here on the source or sources from which Dante directly drew his visions. As to the visions of Virâf, though a great part of the details is original, the main features about the destiny of the soul in the other world have their origin in the *Avesta*. The fifth and the seventeenth chapters of the *Virâf-nâmeh* are, as it were, a clear and amplified version of a portion of the 19th chapter of the *Vendidad*. These chapters are based on the very doctrine of the future destiny of the soul after death as believed by the ancient Zaroastrians.

The visions of Virâf were made known to the European world of letters by the English translation of Mr. J. A. Pope in 1818. This was an imperfect translation, not of our Pehelvi Virâf-nâmeh, but of a Persian version of it which was to a certain extent mutilated by some foreign elements. This imperfect translation of the Persian mutilated version led some to believe that the visions of Virâf were derived from the Christian source of Isaiah's Ascent. But the late Dr. Haug, who was the first to write upon this subject, and whose learned presence in our midst as the Professor of Sanskrit in the Deccan College, had

greatly helped and encouraged Iranian studies, has clearly shown that this was not the case. M. Barthélemy, in his excellent translation (Livre d'Ardâ Vîrâf), wherein he has dwelt upon some of these striking points of resemblance, agrees with Dr. Haug and says, "Rien ne justifie les tentative faites pour montrer que les visions de l'Arda Viraf dérivent de celles contenues dans l'Ascension du prophète Isaïe, car elles n'ont entre elles aucune relation historique."

Art. XV.—*The so-called Pehelvi Origin of the Sindibâd-nâmeh or the Story of the Seven Wise Masters.*—By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

[Read 28th June 1893.]

Like the story of Kalila and Damna, known in Europe as the "Fables of Bidpâi," the story of the Sindibâd-nâmeh, known in Europe as the "Story of the Seven Wise Masters," has gone through several versions both in the East and in the West. Mr. W. A. Clouston, in the *Athenæum* of 12th September 1891, says that all these different versions have a common origin, and that they also, like the story of Kalila and Damna, come from the Pehelvi, through an Arabic version now lost.

Mr. Clouston has given an epitome of this story of Sindibâd in his *Popular Tales and Fictions* (Vol. I.). Professor Forbes Falconer has published an "Analytical Account of the Sindibâd-nâmeh" in Vols. XXXV. and XXXVI. (new series) of the *Asiatic Journal* (1841). We find the story reproduced by the pen of Mr. A. Rogers in the January number of this year of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Mr. Clouston has also published a separate book on the subject of the Sindibâd-nâmeh, which, being "privately printed," is not available.

The object of this paper is to show that, if, as Mr. Clouston says, Pehelvi is the origin of this wide-spread story of "The King, the Damsel and the Prince," it is the old Persian story of Kâus, Soudâbeh and Siâvash, that has given rise to it. In the Pehelvi literature now extant, we find no story of the kind, but we find a trace of it in the Shah-nâmeh of Firdousi, who, let it be remembered, has collected, as he himself says in the preface of his great epic, the materials of his poem from a Pehelvi work.*

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* بشهرم یکی مهربان دوست بود .·. تو گفتي که با من یکي پوست بود
مرا گفت خوب آمد این راي تو .·. به نیکي گراید همي پاي تو
نبشته من این نامهٔ پهلوي .·. به پیش تو آرم مگر نغنوي
گشاده زبان و جوانیت هست .·. سخن گفتن پهلوانیت هست
تو این نامهٔ خسروان باز گوي .·. بدین جوي نزد مهان آبروي
چو آورد این نامه نزدیک من .·. بر افروخت این جان تاریک من

Vullers, I., lines 164-169.

Before giving Firdousi's version of the story, I will give here for comparison the Sindibâd-nâmeh story as given by Mr. A. Rogers :—

"An Indian King, by name Gardis, was, for a long time, childless, but by dint of fasting and prayer, at length, obtained a son, who was destined, according to the horoscope cast at his birth, to pass through a great misfortune and become famous in his age. Great care was taken with the young prince's education, but for some years to no purpose, until he was placed by the king, on the advice of his seven *vazirs* or ministers, in the charge of a learned man of the name of Sindibâd. Under this person's tuition, the prince, in six months, became a model of learning and wisdom, and was about to be presented to his father under this more favourable aspect, when the time for undergoing the calamity, predicted at his birth, arrived. He was warned by his preceptor accordingly, that, in order to counteract the evil fate that was lying in wait for him, he must be silent for seven days whatever the king might say or do to him . . . .
One of the king's wives, who had fallen in love with the prince, begs the king's permission to take his son into the private apartments, on the pretence that she might extort from him the secret of his remaining silent. Leave is given, and she takes the opportunity to declare her passion to the prince, and offers to raise him to the throne by poisoning his father. The offer being indignantly refused, the woman, afraid of the possible consequences when the prince was allowed to speak again, determines to be beforehand with him, and, rushing into the king's presence, accuses the prince of making improper proposals to her and threatening his father's life. Shocked at the revelation which he fully believes, the king sends for the executioner and orders the prince's execution . . . .
The king's *vazirs*, hearing of the king's order, hold a consultation, and determine to prevent its being carried out by one of their number going to their master on each of the seven days for which silence has been imposed on the prince, until the latter may be at liberty to defend himself, and relating tales to the king to expose the deceitfulness and wiles of women. Then commences the struggle between the *vazirs* and the desperate woman, the king on each day putting off the prince's execution in consequence of the impression made on his mind by the *vazirs'* stories, and the next day reiterating his order for his son's death on the tears and entreaties of his treacherous wife. The former, however, manages to tide over the seven days of

silence; and finally the prince, allowed to speak for himself, turns the tables on his wicked step-mother, and turns out a model of wisdom and excellence."

Now the episode in Firdousi's Shâh-nâmeh, to which I think this story of Sindibâd is similar in its main features, though not in some of its details, which, I think, are added and worked out in the subsequent versions, runs as follows :—

Kâus, the king of Irân, had a prince by name Siâvash, who was as beautiful as a fairy. He thanked God very much for the birth of this son, but those who calculated the movements of the heavens found that the stars were hostile to this infant. They revealed this to the king and advised him on the matter. Rustam, who was a general of the king, took the prince under his protection and instruction. He took the prince to Zaboulistân, and brought him up in a manly way as befitted a king's son. He taught him the arts of war and chase, and the ways of ruling justly. He taught him all the virtues, and in short made him one who had none as his equal in the world. Then, at the special desire of the prince, Rustam took him to the royal court, where he was enthusiastically received by King Kâus and his courtiers. The festivities in honour of the prince continued for seven days. The prince thus lived in ease at the court of his royal father for seven years, during which period Soudâbeh, the stepmother of the prince fell in love with him, and, under the pretence of affection for the boy as a mother and of a desire to entertain him and to give him presents, requested the king to send Siâvash to the apartments of women. At the desire of the king, Siâvash paid three visits to the ladies' apartments. The queen made improper proposals to him, and he left her rooms indignantly. Soudâbeh being afraid of the consequences, if the prince complained of her conduct, tore off her clothes and raised an alarm. Kâus went to her apartments, where she complained of Siâvash having tried to commit violence upon her. The king said to himself: "If all this is true I will cut off the head of Siâvash." He then sent for Siâvash, who stated all the facts. The queen accused him of falsehood, and said that he had gone to such an extent of violence that *enciente* as she was she expected a miscarriage. The king found that Soudâbeh had all kinds of strong perfumes and scents over her clothes and body. Then calling Siâvash by his side he did not find over his body any trace of those scents and perfumes which, he said, would have been found over his body had he committed any

violence upon the body of Soudâbeh as alleged. Thus he found the prince innocent. Soudâbeh then tried other means to move the feelings of king Kâus in her favour and against the prince. She, by means of some drugs, made a maid-servant who was *enceinte* miscarry. The maid gave birth to two still-born infants. Soudâbeh then pretended that it was she herself who had given birth to the still-born infants, and raised a cry of grief and sorrow. The king being attracted to her apartments, she reminded him of her former complaint, *viz.*, that she expected a miscarriage from the violence of Siâvash. This made the king again suspicious about the conduct of Siâvash. He called the sages, who knew the stars, before him, and asked them to find out the secret. They consulted the stars for seven consecutive nights and traced out the truth. The woman, who was the real mother of the still-born infants, was arrested, but she denied any knowledge of the matter. The king called Soudâbeh in the presence of the sages. She accused them of being partial to the prince who was supposed to be very powerful. She then wept and cried bitterly. This affected the heart of the king, and he again became suspicious about the whole affair. He then called an assembly of the Mobeds of his court, and submitted the whole matter before them for advice. They advised the king to try the case by the ordeal of fire. Soudâbeh, the queen, being asked to go through the ordeal, said that she had showed her innocence by presenting before the king the two infants that were born dead through the miscarriage caused by the violence of Siâvash, and that, therefore, it was the duty of the latter to prove his innocence by going through the ordeal. Siâvash went through it unhurt and proved his innocence. The king, thereupon, condemned the queen to death and sentenced her to be hanged. But then Siâvash interfered on her behalf and persuaded the king to forgive her.

This then is the story of the Shâh-nâmeh which resembles that of the Sindibâd-nâmeh. We will here enumerate the points of striking resemblance between these two stories:—

1. The son of the Indian King Gardis was destined, according to his horoscope, to pass a life of misfortune. So was Siâvash, the son of the Irânian king Kâus, destined, according to the astrologers, to pass a life of misery.

2. As the Indian prince was entrusted to Sindibâd to be trained and educated, so was the Irânian prince Siâvash entrusted to Rustam.

3. The Indian queen, who had fallen in love with the young prince,

asked the king to send him to her apartments on the pretence that she might extort from him the secret of his observing silence. According to the Shâh-nâmeh, the Irânian queen Soudâbeh asked Kâus to send Siâvash to the private apartments of women on the pretence of entertaining him and presenting him with gifts, and of making him choose a partner for life.

4. The Indian king grants permission to the queen to take the prince into the ladies' apartments. There the queen reveals her love to the prince, and offers, if he returned her love, to raise him to the throne by poisoning the king. The Irânian king, according to the Shâh-nâmeh, also grants permission to Soudâbeh to take Siâvash to the ladies' apartment where she reveals her love to him, and promises, if he returned her love, to give him crowns and thrones, and threatens, in case he did not return her love, to deprive him of the throne and to ruin him.

5. On the Indian prince refusing the offer with indignation, the queen raises an alarm and accuses the prince before the king of improper offers. We find the same in the case of the Irânian prince.

6. The seven *vazirs* of the Indian king intercede on behalf of the prince for seven consecutive nights and persuade the king to postpone the execution of the prince. According to the Shâh-nâmeh we have no seven *vazirs*, but we find a number of sages who know the stars. They consult the stars for seven consecutive nights to find out the truth about the miscarriage complained of by Soudâbeh as the result of the attempted violence of Siavâsh. The number seven plays a prominent part in the story of Siavâsh in the Shâh-nâmeh. Siâvash on his return from Rustam after completing his education was entertained by the king for seven days. It was for seven years that Kâus tried the ability of Siâvash before putting him at the head of the province of Mawaralnahar (The Transoxania). Again it was for seven years that Soudâbeh entertained love for Siâvash before revealing it to him.

7. The last time that the Indian queen comes before the king to defend herself, she accuses the *vazirs* of being in league with the prince and of saying falsehoods. So does the Persian queen accuse the sages, who met for seven consecutive nights, of being afraid of Siâvash and of saying what was not true.

8. According to one account of the Sindibâd-nâmeh, the Indian queen, who, in the end, was found guilty, was pardoned by the king at the intercession of the prince. So was the Persian queen, who was

condemned to death by the king, pardoned at the request of the Persian prince.

Now there is one great difference between the story of the Sindibâd-nâmeh and that of the Shâh-nâmeh. It is this, that we do not find in the Shâh-nâmeh any allusion to the stories told to the king each successive night by one of the seven *vazirs*. But in place of that we merely find that the sages met together for seven nights. According to the Sindibâd-nâmeh story it is the alternative stories of the *vazirs* and the queen that allay and excite the feelings of the Indian king. According to the Shâh-nâmeh story it is the tricks of the queen and their exposures that alternately excite and allay the suspicions of the Persian king. At first she tears off her clothes and raises an alarm to excite the king's suspicions which are soon removed when he finds no trace, on the body of Siâvash, of the strong perfumes with which she has covered her body. Then Soudâbeh resorts to the trick of a pretended miscarriage, which again makes the king a little suspicious. The sages after their seven nights' consultation soon expose the mischievous plot. Soudâbeh in her turn, again weeps bitterly, and accuses the sages of being afraid of, and partial to, the prince. This moves the king again a little in her favour. He calls a council of his *Mobeds* to discover the whole truth. They advise an ordeal by fire. Now these steps and countersteps taken by the queen on one hand and the sages and *Mobeds* on the other, as described in the Shâh-nâmeh, are replaced by the stories of the seven *vazirs* in the Sindibâd-nâmeh.

Now, I think that this narration of stories by the seven *vazirs* and the queen, is a foreign element added to the Pehelvi story by the Arabs who were very fond of spinning out a long story in the form of petty stories narrated every night, as we see in the case of the well-known Arabian Nights. I think I am borne out in this view by the very fact—and that an important fact—that, as pointed out by Mr. Clouston, the stories of the seven *vazirs* and the queen vary greatly in the different versions—Syriac, Greek and Persian—of the Sindibâd-nâmeh. The main features in the story remain the same in all the different versions of the Sindibâd-nâmeh as in the original Persian story, but in the stories of the *vazirs* and the queen, which I consider to be the foreign element added by the Arabs, as was their wont, we find a great difference in the different versions of the Sindibâd-nâmeh.

Thus, it appears to me that if the source of the story of "The King the Damsel and the Prince," as described in the Sindibâd-nâmeh, be Pehelvi, we find it in the story of Kâus, Soudâbeh and Siâvash of the Shâh-nâmeh which is, as the poet himself says, written from Pehelvi sources.

It appears that the story of Siâvash is more ancient than the times of the Sassanian period when the Pehelvi books from which Firdousi took his materials were written. We find an allusion to the unsurpassed beauty and innocence of Siâvash in the older writings of the Avesta. In the Avesta writing, known as the Afrin-i-Spitâmân Zarathusht, we read the following passage:—"Srirem kebarpem anâstravanem bavâhi yatha kava Siâvarshânô," *i.e.*, may you be as beautiful and innocent as Siâvash. An allusion to the unparalleled beauty of Siâvash is also made in the Pazend Âfrin, where one is desired to be as beautiful as Siâvash (Hudeed bêd chûn Siâvakhsh).

Art. XVI.—*Bhartṛihari and Kumârila.*—By K. B. Pathak, B.A., Deccan College, Poona.

[Read, 28th June 1892.]

In my last paper I relied on two distinct passages in I-tsing's work. One of these passages refers to Dharmakîrti[1] as his contemporary according to the French translation. But we read in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX., p. 319, that this passage was submitted to another Chinese authority, Prof. Vasiliev, who gave it as his opinion that the original Chinese expression may also be interpreted as "nearest in time." Now this last rendering looks on the face of it very indefinite. I, therefore, referred to another passage in I-tsing's work, in which that author is most precise in his statement of the facts which he has communicated to posterity.

This second passage, to which I appealed in my last paper, is the one which refers to Bhartṛihari as having died in 650 A.D. Here[2] I-tsing is giving a description of our grammatical literature, as it was known and studied in India in the latter half of the seventh century. He mentions several standard authorities on the science of grammar. When he comes to speak of Bhartṛihari, he tells us that he was a grammarian of wide-spread fame and that he was the author of the Vâkya-discourse or Vâkyapadîya. I-tsing, moreover, gives the number of verses contained in the Vâkyapadîya as 700. On examining the text of this work, as we now have it in the manuscripts belonging to the Deccan College Library and in an edition of it printed at Benares, I find that I-tsing's statement is very nearly correct.[3] After giving these particulars about Bhartṛihari and his Vâkyapadîya, the Chinese pilgrim adds that this author died in 650 A.D. This is a most interesting literary fact, and the value attaching to it from a historical point of view cannot be over-estimated when we remember that it was

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[1] Dharmakîrti and Śaṁkarâchârya, J. B. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 88.

[2] Prof. Max Müller on the date of the Kâśikâ, Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., p. 308.

[3] I refer the reader to Dr. Kielhorn's valuable paper on the grammarian Bhartṛihari, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII., pp. 226-227, where it is most satisfactorily proved that I-tsing restricts the term Vâkyapadîya to the first two chapters of Bhartṛihari's work, in the same way as Vardhamâna does in his Gaṇaratnamahodadhi when he speaks of Bhartṛihari as वाक्यपदीयप्रकीर्णकयोः कर्ता.

communicated to us by a contemporary writer; for I-tsing was born about 635, whereas Bhartṛihari, to whom he refers, died in 650 A. D.

In the Tantravârtika, Chapter I., Section 3, Kumârila delivers a powerful attack on Pâṇini, Kâtyâyana, Patañjali and other grammarians, and contends that the study of grammar is not enjoined in any Vedic school. Nor can it be maintained that grammar is part of the Vedas, because, while the Vedas are eternal, grammar is only the offspring of the human brains and is no better than the utterances of Buddha and other men: *

न च वेदाङ्गभावोऽपि कश्चिद्व्याकरणं प्रति ।
तादर्थ्यावयवाभावाद्बुद्धादिवचनेष्विव ॥
श्रुतिलिङ्गादिभिस्तावत्तादर्थ्यं नास्य गम्यते ।
अकृत्रिमस्य वा कश्चित्कृत्रिमोऽवयवः कथम् ॥

Kumârila then proceeds to argue that the science of words is not useful in preserving the Vedas, nor even in maintaining the purity of our every-day speech, and that even such eminent classical authors as Maśaka, Âśvalâyana, Nârada, Manu and prince Pâlakârya pay no regard to the rules laid down by Pâṇini*.

In the course of this very interesting discussion which occupies nearly a whole section, Kumârila cites numerous verses from the Vâkyapadîya of Bhartṛihari. I shall, however, content myself with pointing out only five of these verses as that number will suffice for my present purpose. The 121st verse in the second Chapter of the Vâkyapadîya, Benares Edition, p. 132, runs thus:

अस्त्यर्थः सर्वशब्दानामिति प्रत्याय्यलक्षणम् ।
अपूर्वदेवतास्वर्गैः सममाहुर्गवादिषु ॥

This verse is twice quoted by Kumârila, Tantravârtika, Benares Edition, pp. 251 and 254:

यथाहुः ॥
" अस्त्यर्थः सर्वशब्दानामिति प्रत्याय्यलक्षणम् ।
अपूर्वदेवतास्वर्गैः सममाहुर्गवादिषु " ॥ इति ॥
यत्तु
" अपूर्वदेवतास्वर्गैः सममाहु"रिति ॥
तत्राभिधीयते ॥

* Tantravârtika, Benares Edition, p. 207.
Ibid. p. 199.

The second line of the 13th verse in the first Chapter of the Vâkyapadîya, p. 7, is quoted and parodied, and the sentiment expressed therein is held up to ridicule by Kumârila, Tantravârtika, pp. 209 and 210, thus:

यदपि केन चिदुक्तम् ॥

" तत्त्वावबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादृत" इति,

तद्रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शेष्वपि वक्तव्यमासीत् ।

को हि प्रत्यक्षगम्येर्थे शास्त्रात्तत्त्वावधारणम् ।

शास्त्रलोकस्वभावज्ञ ईदृशं वक्तुमर्हति ॥

अत एव श्लोकस्योत्तरार्द्धं वक्तव्यम् ।

तत्त्वावबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति श्रोत्रेन्द्रियादृत इति ॥

न ह्यत्र कश्चिद्विप्रतिपद्यते बधिरेष्वेवमदृष्टत्वात् ।

The 14th verse in the second Chapter of the Vâkyapadîya, p. 73, is also quoted by Kumârila, Tantravârtika, p. 220:

ब्राह्मणार्थो यथा नास्ति कश्चिद्ब्राह्मणकम्बले ।

देवदत्तादयो वाक्ये तथैव स्युरनर्थकाः ॥

Here are two more quotations:

वृषलैर्न प्रवेष्टव्यमित्येतस्मिन् गृहे यथा ।

प्रत्येकं संहतानां च प्रवेशः प्रतिषिध्यते ॥ ३७७ ॥

Vâkyapadîya, Chap. II.

वृषलैर्न प्रवेष्टव्यं गृहेस्मिन्निति चोदिते ।

प्रत्येकं संहतानां च प्रवेशः प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

Tantravârtika, Chap. III., Sec. I., Benares Edition, p. 732.

काकेभ्यो रक्ष्यतां सर्पिरिति बालोपि चोदितः ।

उपघातपरे वाक्ये न श्वादिभ्यो न रक्षति ॥ ३०९ ॥

Vâkyapadîya, Chap. II.

तथा च आह

काकेभ्यो रक्ष्यतामन्नमिति बालोपि चोदितः ।

उपघातप्रधानत्वान्न श्वादिभ्यो न रक्षति ॥

न त्विदमत्रोदाहरणं घटते ।

Tantravârtika, Chap. III., Sec. I. Benares Edition, p. 731.

We have thus seen that Kumârila frequently quotes Bhartṛihari and criticises him along with Pâṇini and Patañjali. It is obvious, I think, that in Kumârila's days, Bhartṛihari was regarded as a high authority on grammatical science. In his own life-time he could not have been so distinguished as to attract the notice of a foreign scholar, or so highly thought of by the followers of the Pâṇinian school as to deserve being criticised along with such acknowledged authorities as Pâṇini and Patañjali by a leader of the Mîmâṁsâ school. Hence Hiuen Tsiang, who was travelling in India between 629-645, does not mention him, whereas I-tsing, writing nearly half a century later, tells us that Bhartṛihari was known as a famous grammarian throughout the five divisions of India. On this ground we may fairly conclude that half a century must have elapsed between the date of Bhartṛihari's death, A. D. 650, and the time at which the Tantravârtika was composed. In other words, Kumârila must have flourished in the first half of the eighth century. This is the earliest date that we can assign to him, consistently with the facts stated above.

We are dealing here with two distinguished authors, I-tsing and Kumârila. The former was a cultured and scholarly native of China, and a follower of Śâkyasiṁha whose immortal name appears above the surface of oblivion, like a mountain peak, glowing in the grandeur of eternity. I-tsing came to India to visit the sacred places of his religion where those blessed feet of the Enlightened One had trod. The latter was Kumârila, a native of Southern India whose intellectual superiority was so great that he towered far above his contemporaries. He was at a loss to conceive how Buddha, Kshatriya as he was, could aspire to the position of a teacher—a position which belonged by right of birth to the Brahmin alone—and proclaim to the astonished world that he was the only saviour of mankind.:

कलिकलुषकृतानि यानि लोके
मयि निपतन्तु विमुच्यतां तु लोकः ॥

Tantravârtika, Chap. I., Sec. III., p. 116.

Kumârila therefore occupied himself both by pen and speech in eradicating that religion which had well-nigh extinguished the las spark of Brahminism and which had attracted I-tsing to India from the far East.

Both these writers are speaking of the same subject, namely, the grammatical literature of India, but from different points of view. They

name the same authorities, Pâṇini, Patañjali and Bhartṛihari, and agree in referring to the same work of Bhartṛihari, namely, the Vâkyapadîya. The relations between Bhartṛihari, I-tsing and Kumârila may be seen at a glance from the following table :—

Bhartṛihari, 650 A. D.

I-tsing, 690 A. D. | 700 A. D. Kumârila.

Like the general run of Indian authors, Kumârila confines himself to criticising Bhartṛihari adversely, but affords no clue to his own date or that of Bhartṛihari. On the other hand I-tsing supplies definite information on two points, namely, the date of Bhartṛihari's death and the interval of time that must have elapsed between that event and the period at which he became famous throughout India. And since the Tantravârtika was obviously composed at a time when Bhartṛihari's renown as a grammarian was completely established in the five divisions of India, we are forced to assign Kumârila, at the earliest, to the first half of the eighth century.

Again, we possess interesting evidence to determine the chronological priority of Kumârila to Śaṁkarâchârya ; for the former is actually referred to by the latter in the Taittirîyabhâshya and quoted by Sureśvara in the Taittirîyavârtika in the same connection. The introduction to the Taittirîyabhâshya thus opens with an attack on a certain Mîmâṁsaka[6] :

काम्यनिषिद्धयोरनारम्भादारब्धस्य चोपभोगेन क्षयान्नित्यानुष्ठानेन प्रत्यवायाभावादयत्नत एव स्वात्मन्यवस्थानं मोक्षः । अथवा निरतिशयायाः प्रीतेः स्वर्गशब्दवाच्यायाः कर्महेतुत्वात्कर्मभ्य एव मोक्ष इति चेन्न ।

In explaining this passage, Sureśvara tells us that the Mîmâṁsaka here attacked by his teacher Śaṁkarâchârya is no less an author than Kumârila himself. Says the Taittirîyavârtika[7] :

मोक्षार्थी न प्रवर्तेत तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः ।
नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात्प्रत्यवायजिहासया ॥
इति मीमांसकंमन्यैः कर्मोक्तं मोक्षसाधनम् ।
प्रत्याख्यायाऽऽत्मविज्ञानं तत्र न्यायेन निर्णयः ॥

[6] Taittirîyabhâshya, Ânandâśrama Ed., p. 3.

[7] Taittirîyavârtika, Ânandâśrama Ed., p. 5.

Here the first verse quoted by Sureśvara occurs in Kumârila's Ślokavârtika,[8] and it is plain that Śaṁkara has only paraphrased this verse in setting forth the Mîmâṁsaka's view.

In the next verse Sureśvara calls Kumârila Mîmâṁsakaṁmanya or one who makes a parade of his Mîmâṁsâ-lore. None but Sureśvara who lived shortly after Kumârila, could have ventured on the use of such a disrespectful expression towards that distinguished Mîmâṁsaka.

We have thus established chronological relations between Bhartṛihari, Kumârila and Śaṁkarâchârya. Bhartṛihari is criticised by Kumârila who in his turn is criticised by Śaṁkarâchârya; Bhartṛihari died in 650 A. D., and became famous throughout India nearly half a century later as I-tsing assures us. Kumârila, who must have criticised Bhartṛihari after the latter had become famous, of course belongs to the first half of the eighth century; and Śaṁkarâchârya must for a similar reason be assigned to the latter half of the same century. This view of the matter, be it observed, does not involve any acceptance of tradition, but rests entirely on the explicit statements made by I-tsing, Kumârila and Sureśvara. Nor can the conclusion thus arrived at be invalidated by any arguments that have been as yet advanced unless one is prepared to pronounce I-tsing's work a pure forgery.

Turning to Digambara Jaina literature, the first name that greets us is Samantabhadra whose Âptamîmâṁsâ is cited by Vâchaspatimiśra in explaining Śaṁkarâchârya's criticism on the Syâdvâda doctrine.[9]

स्याद्वादः सर्वथैकांतत्यागात्किंवृत्तचिद्विधिः ।
सप्तभंगनयापेक्षो हेयादेयाविशेषकृत् ॥

The appearance of Samantabhadra in Southern India marks an epoch not only in the annals of Digambara Jainism but in the history of Sanskrit literature. The Âptamîmâṁsâ is regarded as the

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[8] Pandita, Vol. III., p. 534. See Râmatîrtha's Śârîrakaśâstrasaṁgraha, Chap. I., section I. Sureśvara also quotes Kumârila in his Bṛihadâraṇyakavârtika, Chap. II., Section 4:

यज्जातीयैः प्रमाणैस्तु यज्जातीयार्थदर्शनम् ।
भवेदिदानीं लोकस्य तथा कालान्तरेऽप्यभूत् ॥ १०३ ॥
यत्राप्यतिशयो दृष्टः स स्वार्थानतिलङ्घनात् ।
दूरसूक्ष्मादिदृष्टौ स्यान्न रूपे श्रोत्रवृत्तिता ॥ १०४ ॥

Pandita, Vol. III., p. 86.

[9] Bhâmatî, Bibl. Ind. Ed., p. 458. The verse stands 104th in the Devâgamastotra.

most authoritative exposition of the Syâdvâda Doctrine and of the Jaina notion of an omniscient being, and passes in review all the contemporary schools of philosophy, including the Brahmâdvaita Doctrine.[10]

This work was composed by Samantabhadra by way of introduction to his larger work, the Gandhahastimahâbhâshya, a commentary on the Tatvârtha of Umâsvâti, and is widely known in India as the Devâgamastotra, from its opening verse:

देवागमनभोयानचामरादिविभूतयः ।
मायाविष्वपि दृश्यंते नातस्त्वमसि नो महान् ॥

Samantabhadra also wrote Yuktyanuśâsana, Ratnakarandaka, Svayambhûstotra and a Jinaśataka. The earliest commentary on the Âptamîmâṁsâ is the Ashṭaśatî of Akalaṁka who is also known as Akalaṁkadêva or Akalaṁkachandra. He was likewise the author of the Laghîyastraya, Nyâyaviniśchaya, Akalaṁkastotra, Svarûpasambodhana and Prâyaśchitta. The second and more exhaustive commentary on the Âptamîmâṁsâ is the Âptamîmâṁsâlaṁkâra or Ashṭasahasrî of Vidyânanda who tells us that he has followed the Ashṭaśatî as his guide: [11]

श्रीमदकलंकविवृतां समंतभद्रोक्तिमत्र संक्षेपात् ।
परमागमार्थविषयामष्टसहस्री प्रकाशयति ॥ Chapter X.

He also wrote Yuktyanuśâsanâlaṁkâra, a commentary on the Yuktyanuśâsana. He was likewise the author of the Âptaparîkshâ.

The Ślokavârtika, which is quoted in the Ashṭasahasrî,[12] and the Pramâṇaparîkshâ which is referred to in the Yuktyanuśâsanâlaṁkâra,[13] are also attributed to him.

Samantabhadra, Akalaṁka and Vidyânanda are thus referred to by Mâṇikyanandi in the Parîkshâmukha: [14]

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[10] Devâgamastotra, verses 24-27.

[11] Ashṭasahasrî, Deccan College MS., No. 824 of 1875-76, p. 200b.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 38b.

[13] Vishalkirti Maharaja's MS., p. 9a.

[14] Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa, Deccan College MS., No. 638 of 1875-76, p. 77a.

सिद्धं सर्वजनप्रबोधजननं सद्योकलंकाश्रयं
विद्यानंदसमंतभद्रगुणतो नित्यं मनोनंदनं ।
निर्दोषं परमागमार्थविषयं प्रोक्तं प्रमालक्षणं
युक्त्या चेतसि चिंतयंतु सुधियः श्रीवर्धमानं जिनं ॥ Chapter I.

The earliest commentary on the work of Mâṇikyanandi is the Prameya-kamalamârtaṇḍa of Prabhâchandra who says that his author has based his aphorisms on the works of Akalaṁka, as the latter are too hard for children to understand :[15]

श्रीमदकलंकार्थोऽव्युत्पन्नप्रज्ञैरवगंतुं न शक्यत इति तद्व्युत्पादनाय करतलामलकवत्तदर्थमुद्धृत्य प्रतिपादयितुकामस्तत्परिज्ञानानुग्रहेच्छाप्रेरितस्तदर्थप्रतिपादनप्रवणं प्रकरणमिदमाचार्य[:]प्राह ।

Prabhâchandra adds that besides the Prameyakamala-mârtaṇḍa, he also wrote the Nyâyakumuda-chandrodaya, a commentary on the Laghîyastraya of Akalaṁka whom he thus speaks of as his teacher :

माणिक्यनंदिपदमप्रतिमप्रबोधं ।[6]
व्याख्याय बोधनिधिरेष पुनः प्रबंधः ।
प्रारभ्यते सकलसिद्धिविधौ समर्थे
मूले प्रकाशितजगत्त्रयवस्तुसार्थे ॥ ३ ॥
बोधः कोप्यसमः समस्तविषयः प्राप्याकलंकं पदं
जातस्तेन समस्तवस्तुविषयं व्याख्यायते तत्पदं ।
किं न श्रीगणभृज्जिनेंद्रपदतः प्राप्तप्रभावः स्वयं
व्याख्यात्यप्रतिमं वचो जिनपतेः सर्वात्मभाषात्मकं ॥ ४ ॥

TRANSLATION.

After having commented on the work of Mâṇikyanandi conveying unequalled knowledge, this commentary which is the repository of knowledge is again commenced on a text which lights up the multitude of things in the three worlds and which is able to effect the fulfilment of all desires. From having approached the feet of Akalaṁka

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1b. Cf. अकलंकवचोंभोधेरुद्दध्रे येन धीमता ।
न्यायविद्यामृतं तस्मै नमो माणिक्यनंदिने ॥
Anantavîrya.

[16] Introduction to the Nyâyakumudachandrodaya, palm-leaf MS. from Sravaṇa Belgol.

I have gained indescribable and unsurpassed knowledge; and with it I explain his work treating of all subjects. Does not the prosperous Gaṇadhara [Gautama] himself, who has obtained splendid gifts from the feet of the excellent Jina [Mahâvîra] explain his incomparable speech delivered in the respective dialects of all people?

It is evident that Prabhâchandra was the pupil of Akalaṁka. Vidyânanda quotes Akalaṁka; Mâṇikyanandi mentions Akalaṁka and Vidyânanda. Prabhâchandra, the pupil of Akalaṁka, writes a commentary on Mâṇikyanandi's work, in which he frequently quotes Vidyânanda.[17] These facts show convincingly that we have here a group of four contemporary authors, Akalaṁka being the oldest of them all. The chronological relations between them may be best seen from the following table:—

Akalaṁka
Vidyânanda
Mâṇikyanandi
Prabhâchandra.

Prabhâchandra quotes[18] the opening verse in Bâṇa's Kâdambarî,

रजोजुषे जन्मनि सत्त्ववृत्तये
स्थितौ प्रजानां प्रलये तमःस्पृशे ।
अजाय सर्गस्थितिनाशहेतवे
त्रयीमयाय त्रिगुणात्मने नमः ॥

Both Vidyânanda and Prabhâchandra frequently quote Bhartṛihari:[19]

न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते ।
अनुविद्धमिवाभाति सर्वं शब्दे प्रतिष्ठितं ॥

It is therefore obvious that Akalaṁka and Prabhâchandra lived after the 7th century. They also lived before Jinasêna, the preceptor of Amoghavarsha I., who mentions them in the Âdipurâṇa.[20] These facts will enable us to accept as correct the opinion of Brahmanemi-

[17] Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa, pp. 116. Here Prabhâchandra reproduces the pûrvapaksha of the Mîmâṁsaka word for word from the Ashṭasahasri, p. 40.

[18] Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa, p. 148a. Dr. Peterson's Edition of the Kâdambarî.

[19] Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa, p. 21a. Ashṭasahasrî, p. 107a.

[20] The passage is cited further on. Âdipurâṇa, Deccan College MS., No. 288 of 1883-84, p. ?a.

datta,[21] though a modern writer, that Akalaṁka was contemporary with the Râshṭrakûṭa king Śubhatuṅga or Kṛishṇarâja I. I shall now quote the passage in the Âdipurâṇa which mentions Akalaṁka and Prabhâchandra together with his great work the Nyâyakumudachandrodaya, or, as it is briefly styled, the Chandrodaya :

चंद्रांशुशुभ्रयशसं प्रभाचंद्रं कविं स्तुवे ।
कृत्वा चंद्रोदयं येन शश्वदाह्लादितं जगत् ॥ ४७ ॥
चंद्रोदयकृतस्तस्य यशः केन न शस्यते ।
यदाकल्पमनाम्लायि सतां शेखरतां गतं ॥ ४८ ॥
भट्टाकलंकश्रीपालपात्रकेसरिणां गुणाः ।
विदुषां हृदयारूढा हारायंतेतिनिर्मलाः ॥ ५३ ॥

"I praise the poet Prabhâchandra, whose fame is as bright as the rays of the moon, and who has ever delighted the world by the composition of the Chandrodaya. Who does not extol the fame of that author of the Chandrodaya which adorns the head of the good and will not fade till the end of time? The merits of Bhaṭṭâkalaṁka Śrîpâla and Pâtrakesari, exceedingly faultless, shine as though they were garlands placed on the breast of the wise."

In this passage Jinasena mentions Akalaṁka, Prabhâchandra the author of the Nyâyakumuda-chandrodaya and Pâtrakesari. In a very old palm-leaf manuscript of the Âdipurâṇa, belonging to Brahmasûri Sâstri of Śravaṇa Belgoḷ and written in old Kanarese characters, Vidyânanda is given as another name of Pâtrakesari. Again the Samyaktvaprakâśa[22] quotes a certain passage from the Jaina Ślokavârtika and ascribes it to Vidyânanda *alias* Pâtrakesarisvâmi :

तथा श्लोकवार्तिके विद्यानंदि[द]अपरनामपात्रकेसरिस्वामिना यदुक्तं तच्च लिख्यते तत्त्वार्थश्रद्धानं सम्यग्दर्शनं ॥ ननु सम्यग्दर्शनशब्दनिर्वचनसामर्थ्यादेव सम्यग्दर्शनस्वरूपनिर्णयादशेषतद्वि[प्रतिप]त्तिनिवृत्तेः सिद्धत्वात्तदर्थं तल्लक्षणवचनं न युक्तिमदेवेति कस्यचिदारेका तामपाकरोति.

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[21] Kathâkośa, Deccan College MS., No. 471 of 1884-86, Ind. Ant. Vol. XII., p. 215, where 'bhavati' is a mistake for 'Bharate.'

[22] Samyaktvaprakâśa, Deccan College MS., No. 777 of 1875-76, p. 6b.

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This passage occurs at the beginning of the second chapter of the Jaina Ślokavârtika,[23] which the Hindi commentator[24] on the Ratnakarandaka attributes to Vidyânanda. In a play entitled Jñâna-Sûryodaya Vâdichandra introduces Ashtaśatî[25] as a female character. When she encounters Mîmâṁsâ and other sects, she recites the Devâgamastotra and explains it. But unable to silence them and frightened at their appearance, she seeks refuge in the lotus-like mouth of Pâtrakesari. In the 4th Act she says,[26]

देव, ततोहमुत्तालितहृदया श्रीमत्पात्रकेसरिमुखकमलं गता तेन साक्षात्कृत-सकलस्याद्वादाभिप्रायेण लालिता पालिताष्टसहस्रीतया पुष्टिं नीता देव स यदि नापालयिष्यत्तदा कथं त्वामद्राक्षं(द्रक्ष्यं)

"that she was protected from the attacks of Mîmâṁsâ and other schools by the prosperous Pâtrakesari who developed her into the Ashtasahasrî."

These facts enable us to identify Pâtrakesari with Vidyânanda who wrote the Ashtasahasrî.

We have already seen that Akalaṁka, Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda *alias* Pâtrakesari have been praised by Jinasena. The praśasti at the end of the Uttarapurâṇa, which speaks of Jinasena as the preceptor of Amoghavarsha I, and which was composed in Śaka 820[27] when Lokâditya of the Challaketana or cloth-bannered[28] family was ruling at Baṁkâpura, was discovered by me and communicated to the Indian Antiquary[29] in 1883. Jinasena's pupil Guṇabhadra is described in the Sanskrit Commentary on his Âtmânuśâsana[30] as the preceptor of Krishṇarâja II., while the latter was still a *yuvarâja*.

For the purposes of the present inquiry, it is necessary to fix the date of Jinasena's Âdipurâṇa as precisely as possible. He wrote his

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[23] Ślokavârtikâlaṁkâra, Deccan College MS., p. 64a.

[24] Hindi commentary on the Ratnakaraṇḍaka, Deccan College MS. No. 660 of 1875-76, p. 236a.

[25] Akalaṅka's commentary on Samantabhadra's Devâgamastotra mentioned in the next sentence.

[26] Jñânasûryodaya, Deccan College MS., No. 495 of 1884-86, p. 58b.

[27] The cyclic year mentioned here is piṅgala. Deccan College MS., No. 505 of 1884-86.

[28] See my paper in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 104.

[29] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 216.

[30] Âtmânuśâsana, verse 109, MS. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhapur.

first work the Jaina Harivaṁśa in Śaka 705 when the Râshṭrakûṭa king Vallabha II. was reigning. At this time Jinasena must have been very young as the Harivaṁśa is lacking in richness of fancy, copiousness of imagery and fluency of verse, which distinguish the later productions of his muse. The interesting praśasti of the Jaina Harivaṁśa together with the passage in which the Gupta kings are alluded to, I have published in the Indian Antiquary.[31]

Jinasena lived on into the reign of Amoghavarsha I. as he tells us himself in the Pârśvâbhyudaya: [32]

इति विरचितमेतत्काव्यमावेष्ट्य मेघं
बहुगुण[मप]दोषं कालिदासस्य काव्यं ।
मलिनितपरकाव्यं तिष्ठतादाशशांकं
भुवनमवतु देवस्सर्वदामोघवर्षः ॥ ७० ॥
श्रीवीरसेनमुनिपादपयोजभृंगः
श्रीमानभूद्विनयसेनमुनिर्गरीयान् ।
तच्चोदितेन जिनसेनमुनीश्वरेण
काव्यं व्यधायि परिवेष्टितमेघदूतं ॥ ७१ ॥

इत्यमोघवर्षपरमेश्वरपरमगुरुश्रीजिनसेनाचार्यविरचितमेघदूतवेष्टितवेष्टिते पार्श्वाभ्युदये भगवत्कैवल्यवर्णनं नाम चतुर्थस्सर्गः ॥ ४ ॥

This poem is one of the curiosities of Sanskrit literature. It is at once the product and the mirror of the literary taste of the age. The first place among Indian poets is allotted to Kâlidâsa by consent of all. Jinasena, however, claims to be considered a higher genius than the author of the Cloud-messenger. But this estimate of himself is not endorsed by posterity who regard Kâlidâsa as the greatest of Indian bards, the unapproached and unapprochable; whereas, except among his co-religionists, Jinasena's name has passed into unmerited oblivion. However this may be, the value of the Pârśvâbhyudaya to a modern editor of the Cloud-messenger cannot be exaggerated as Jinasena has contrived to interweave the whole of that charming love-song into his poem. It may be noted here that the earliest allusions to Kâlidâsa

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[31] Ind. Ant., Vol. XV., p. 141.

[32] MS. of the Kolhapur Jaina Maṭha.

are those found in the Harshacharita[33] and the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśi II,[34] which thus opens in praise of Jina:

जयति भगवान्जि(ञ्जि)नेन्द्रो वीतजरा[मर]णजन्मनो यस्य ।
ज्ञानसमुद्रान्तर्गतमखिलञ्जगदन्तरीपमिव ॥

The next reference in chronological order to the great poet occurs in Kumârila's work,[35] and the allusion to Kâlidâsa, which is met with in the Pârśvâbhyudaya is consequently a still later one.

The composition of the Pârśvâbhyudaya I refer to the early part of Amoghavarsha's reign; and last but not least, comes the Âdipurâṇa which admittedly ranks very high as a piece of literary workmanship; but Jinasena did not live long enough to finish it. Tradition tells us that when Jinasena felt that his end was approaching he called to his side two of his disciples and, pointing to a piece of wood which lay in front of them, asked each to describe it. One of them said

शुष्कं काष्ठं तिष्ठत्यग्रे.

And the other who was Guṇabhadra said

नीरसदारु भाति पुरः.

It is needless to remark that the latter description highly commended itself to Jinasena who thereupon entrusted to Guṇabhadra the

[33] Introduction to Harshacharita.

[34] Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 237. That this is the reading of the verse is clear from the following:—

जरमरणजम्मरहिया ते सिद्धा मम सुभत्तिजुत्तस्स ।
देंतु वरणाणलाहं.................................... ॥ Siddhabhakti.
संसारचक्रगमनागतिविप्रमुक्ता-
न्नित्यं जरामरणजन्मविकारहीनान् ।
देवेन्द्रदानवगणैरभिपूज्यमानान्
सिद्धांस्त्रिलोकमहितान् शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ Siddhabhakti.
विधूताशेषसंसारबंधनो भव्यबांधवः ।
त्रिपुरारिस्त्वमीशोसि जन्ममृत्युजरांतकृत् ॥ Jinasena, Âdipurâna.
सम्यग्दर्शनमात्रेण संतोषमपरे गताः ।
श्रुत्वातिविमलं धर्मं जिनानां जितजन्मनां ॥ Ravisheṇa, Padmapurâṇa.

[35] Tantravârtika, Benares Ed., p. 183:—

एवं च विद्वद्वचनाद्विनिर्गतं
प्रसिद्धरूपं कविभिर्निरूपितं ।
"सतां हि संदेहपदेषु वस्तुषु
प्रमाणमंतःकरणप्रवृत्तय" इति ।

task of finishing the Âdipurâṇa.[36] The latter also wrote the Uttarapurâṇa and the Âtmânuśâsana alluded to above.

The Pârśvâbhyudaya and the Âdipurâṇa do not enable us to assign the latest date to Jinasena. But this omission is supplied by the Jayadhavalâṭîkâ which mentions this author along with his illustrious contemporary and disciple Amoghavarsha I. and gives Śaka 759[37] as the date of its own completion:

इति श्रीवीरसेनीया टीका सूत्रार्थदर्शनी ।
मठग्रामपुरे श्रीमद्गुर्जरार्यानुपालिते ।।
फाल्गुने मासि पूर्वाह्णे दशम्यां शुक्लपक्षके ।
प्रवर्धमानपूजायां नंदीश्वरमहोत्सवे ॥
अमोघवर्षराजेन्द्रराज्यप्राज्यगुणोदया ।
निष्ठितप्रचयं यायादाकल्पांतमनल्पिका ॥
षष्टिरेव सहस्राणि ग्रंथानां परिमाणतः ।
श्लोकेनानुष्टुभेनात्र निर्दिष्टान्यनुपूर्वशः ॥
विभक्तिः प्रथमस्कंधो द्वितीयः संक्रमोदयः ।
उपयोगश्च शेषास्तु तृतीयस्कंध इष्यते ॥
एकान्नषष्टिसमधिकसप्तशताब्देषु शकनरेंद्रस्य ।
समतीतेषु समाप्ता जयधवळा प्राभृतव्याख्या ॥
गाथासूत्राणि सूत्राणि चूर्णिसूत्रं तु वार्तिकं ।
टीका श्रीवीरसेनीया शेषा पद्धतिपंचिका ॥
श्रीवीरप्रभुभाषितार्थघटना निर्लोठितान्यागम-
न्याया श्रीजिनसेनसन्मुनिवरैरादेशितार्थस्थितिः ।
टीका श्रीजयचिह्नितोरुधवळा सूत्रार्थसंद्योतिनी
स्थेयादारविचंद्रमुज्ज्वलतया श्रीपालसंपादिता ॥

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[36] Jinasena wrote the first 42 chapters of this work, the remaining 5 chapters being composed by his pupil. In his introduction to the 43rd chap. Guṇabhadra says :—

अर्धं गुरुभिरेवास्य पूर्वं निष्पादितं परैः ॥
परं निष्पाद्यमानं सच्छंदो बभाति सुंदरं ॥ १३ ॥
इक्षोरिवास्य पूर्वार्धमेवाभाति रसावहं ॥
यथा तथास्तु निष्पत्तिरिति प्रारभ्यते मया ॥ १४ ॥

[37] Siddhântatraya or three Scriptures at Mûḍabidari, leaf 518. I owe this reference to Brahmasûri Shastri of Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷ.

We may safely accept Śaka 760 as the date of the Âdipurâṇa, for at this time Jinasena must have been very old as he wrote his first work the Harivamśa in Śaka 705.

We have already seen that the Âdipurâṇa mentions Akalaṁka, Prabhâchandra the author of the Nyâyakumudachandrodaya and Vidyânanda *alias* Pâtrakesari. We have shown that Akalaṁka was contemporary with the Râshṭrakûṭa King Śubhatuṅga or Kṛishṇarâja I. and flourished in the 2nd half of the eighth century. Akalaṁka's pupil Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda must have lived on into the first half of the ninth century, and were, of course, contemporary with Jinasena who wrote his Harivaṁśa in the time of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Vallabha II. The latest date, therefore, which can be assigned to Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda is Śaka 760, the date of the Âdipurâṇa which mentions them.

As I have intimated above, Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda quote the Vâkyapadîya of Bhartṛihari. They frequently mention and quote Bhartṛihari's great critic Kumârila. Prabhâchandra calls the author of the Tantravârtika either Bhaṭṭa or Kumârila: [38]

ज्ञानस्वभावस्य ज्ञातृव्यापारस्यार्थतथात्वप्रकाशकतया प्रमाणत्वाभ्युपगमान्न भट्टस्यानंतरोक्ताशेषदोषानुसं(षं)ग इत्यप्यसमीक्षिताभिधानं ।

तथार्थापत्तिरपि प्रमाणांतरं तल्लक्षणं ह्यर्थापत्तिरपि दृष्टः श्रु(श्रु)तो वार्थोन्यथा नोपपद्यत इत्यदृष्टार्थकल्पना कुमारिलोप्येतदेव भाष्यकारवचो व्याचष्टे ।

प्रमाणषट्कविज्ञातो यत्रार्थोनन्यथाभवन् ।
अदृष्टं कल्पयेदन्यत् सार्थापत्तिरुदाहृता ॥

Most of the verses attributed to Bhaṭṭa in the Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa and the Ashṭasahasrî are found in Kumârila's Ślokavârtika which obviously suggested the title of one of Vidyânanda's own works the Jaina Ślokavârtika. No author is so frequently or so severely criticised as Kumârila. The reason for this is not far to seek. The illustrious Mîmâṁsaka attacked the Jaina theory of an omniscient being, as propounded by Samantabhadra in the Âptamîmâṁsâ.[39] Akalaṁka writes his commentary called Ashṭaśatî on this very work, but does not reply to Kumârila, whereas Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda let slip no opportunity of defending Samantabhadra from the attacks of the great Mîmâṁsaka the dread of the Buddhists and the

[38] Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa pp. 14*a* and 82*b*.

[39] Devâgamastodra, Verses 1—6.

Jainas alike. I do not propose to discuss here the interesting question[40] whether Kumârila was contemporary with Akalaṁkadeva. Suffice it to say that a portion of Kumârila's critique together with Prabhâchandra's reply to it is reproduced by Sâyaṇa-Mâdhava in his Chapter on Jainism.[41]

Akalaṁka interprets the third verse in the Âptamîmâṁsâ as referring to Kapila and Buddha: neither can be accepted as a teacher of mankind because their teachings are inconsistent. Vidyânanda adds[42] that this verse is also aimed at the followers of Prabhâkara and Bhaṭṭa since they disagree as to the way in whioh a Vedic sentence should be construed. Parodying a well-known line of Kumârila,[43] he says:

भावना यदि वाक्यार्थो नियोगो नेति का प्रमा ।
तावुभौ यदि वाक्यार्थौ हतौ भट्टप्रभाकरौ ॥
कार्येर्थे चोदनाज्ञानं स्वरूपे किं न तत्प्रमा ।
द्वयोश्चेद्धंत तौ नष्टौ भट्टवेदांतवादिनौ ॥

Vidyânanda mentions the Vedântavâdi Maṇḍanamiśra[44] and quotes[45] several verses from the third chapter of the Bṛihadâraṇyakavârtika:

यदुक्तं बृहदारण्यकवार्तिके—
आत्मापि सदिदं ब्रह्म मोहात्पारोक्ष्यदूषितं ।
ब्रह्मापि स तथैवात्मा सद्द्वितीयतयेक्ष्यते ॥
आत्मा ब्रह्मेति पारोक्ष्य-सद्द्वितीयत्वबाधनात् ।
पुमर्थे निश्चितं शास्त्रमिति सिद्धं समीहितं ॥
त्वत्पक्षे बहुकल्प्यं स्यात्सर्वं मानविरोधि च ।
कल्प्याविद्यैव मत्पक्षे सा चानुभवसंश्रयेति
कश्चित्सोपि न प्रेक्षावान् ।
ब्रह्माविद्यावदिष्टं चेन्ननु दोषो महानयं ।
निरवद्ये च विद्याया आनर्थक्यं प्रसज्यते ॥

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[40] The question will be discussed in another paper.

[41] Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha, Bibl. Ind. Ed., pp. 28, 29.

[42] Ashṭaśati, D. C. MS. Ashṭasahasrî, p. 4 b.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 5 a. तदुक्तं सुगतो यदि सर्वज्ञः कपिलो नेति का प्रमा । तावुभौ यदि सर्वज्ञौ मतभेदः कथं तयोरिति ॥

Laghusamantabhadra attributes this verse to Kumârila.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 14 b. Maṇḍanamiśra is another name of Sureśvara, according to the Saṁkaravijayas of Chidvilâsa and Mâdhava and the Guruvaṁśakâvya.

[45] Ashṭasahasrî, pp. 130, 131, 132.

I have shown[46] how Śaṁkara puts a well-known verse of Dharmakîrti into the mouth of a Vijñânavâdi Bauddha and have inferred from that circumstance that in the days of Śaṁkara and Sureśvara it was the fashion for the followers of the Yogâchâra school to quote that verse. Vidyânanda represents[47] a Vijñânavâdi as holding a disputation with a Brahmâdvaitavâdi and citing that very verse. This idea was obviously suggested to the Jaina author by what Śaṁkara and Sureśvara had only recently done. Again both Sureśvara and Vidyânanda[48] attack the three-fold reason of Dharmakîrti. Both quote Kumârila whom we have assigned to the first half of the eighth century. Both lived after Śaṁkarâchârya and Akalaṁka who belong to the second half of the same century, and before Śaka 760 the date of the Âdipurâṇa. These facts taken together suggest as an inevitable inference that Sureśvara was contemporary with his critic Vidyânanda.

The works of Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda place at our disposal a mine of useful information. Prabhâchandra mentions,[49] among other authors, Bhagavân Upavarsha, Dignâga, Udyotakara, Dharmakîrti, Bhartṛihari, Śabarasvâmi, Prabhâkara and Kumârila. All these authors with the exception of Bhagavân Upavarsha, are quoted by Vidyânanda.[50] Bhagavân Upavarsha, Śabarasvâmi, Dharmakîrti and Kumârila are also referred to by Śaṁkarâchârya.[51] The Ashṭasahasrî represents Kumârila as refuting the views of Dharmakîrti and Prabhâkara. From this circumstance we infer the chronological priority of the two last mentioned authors to Kumârila. Vâchaspatimiśra says that Dignâga is refuted by Udyotakara; and according to the Jaina Ślokavârtika, Udyotakara himself is attacked by Dharmakîrti.[52]

In his paper[53] on the Nyâyabinduṭîkâ Dr. Peterson says "in the Jesalmir fragment there is an interesting reference to Kumârila's critique of Dignâga. The writer asserts that when Kumârila rejects mental perception as that had been established from the scriptures

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46 Dharmakîrti and Śaṁkarâchârya.

47 Ashṭasahasrî, p. 77*b*.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 71*a*.

49 Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa, pp. 39, 355*a*, 5, 12 *a*, 241*b*.

50 Ashṭasahasrî, p. 59 *b*. Jaina Ślokavârtika, p. 217 *a*.

51 Śârîrakabhâshya, Ânandâśrama Ed., p. 285.

52 Ashṭasahasrî, pp. 7*b*, 21*b*. Prof. Cowell's Preface to the Kusumâñjali, Jaina Ślokavârtika, D. C. MS., p. 217*a*.

53 J. B. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., p. 51.

(Âgamasiddha) by Dignâga it was because he did not understand Dignâga's definition." This critique of Dignâga occurs in Kumârila's Ślokavârtika, Chapter on pratyaksha. There is another reference to Dignâga in the same work :

वासनाशब्दभेदोत्थविकल्पमविभागतः[54] ।
न्यायविद्भिरिदं चोक्तं धर्मादौ बुद्धिमाश्रिते ॥ १६७ ॥
व्यवहारोनुमानादेः कल्प्यते न बहिःस्थिते ।
अस्तीदं वचनं तेषामिदं तत्र परीक्ष्यताम् ॥ १६८ ॥

न्यायविद्भिरिति । न्यायविद्भिर्हि दिङ्नागाचार्यैरिदमुक्तं । सर्व एवायमनुमानानुमेयव्यवहारो बुद्ध्यारूढेन धर्मधर्मिन्यायेन न बहिःसत्त्वमपेक्षत इति । एतदपि दूषयति'[55] ।

In this passage, Sucharitamiśra says, Kumârila applies the expression nyâyavidbhiḥ to Dignâgâchârya. It is obvious therefore that the Buddhist author of the Jesalmir fragment and the Brahminical commentator Sucharitamiśra are unanimous in holding that Dignâga is criticised by Kumârila. In his chapter entitled the Śûnyavâda the Mîmâṁsaka controverts the Buddhist view denying the existence of the soul as distinct from the intellect. In explaining this part of the Ślokavârtika, Sucharitamiśra frequently cites[56] the well-known verse of Dharmakîrti which is quoted by Śaṁkara and Sureśvara, and thus leads us to infer that Dharmakîrti as well as Dignâga is criticised by Kumârila. This view is corroborated, as we have seen, by Vîdyânanda who in the Ashṭasahasrî represents Kumârila as refuting a verse of Dharmakîrti.

These facts enable us to fix the chronological order in which Dignâga, Udyotakara, Dharmakîrti, Bhartṛihari and Kumârila flourished. Each of these authors lived prior to the one named next after him. They were the predecessors of Śaṁkarâchârya. If we know the precise date of any one of them, we can fix that of Śaṁkarâchârya. In this order Bhartṛihari and Kumârila stand fourth and fifth respectively. The date of Bhartṛihari being known, that of Kumârila or Śaṁkara is easily fixed.

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[54] Pandita, Vol. III., p. 207.

[55] Kâśikâvritti, D. C. MS., p. 196 b.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 228 *a*.

Hiouen Thsang left India in 645 A. D.; Bhartṛihari died five years later, that is, in 650 A. D.; and Bhartṛihari's famous critic Kumârila must of course have flourished, at the least, half a century after Hiouen Thsang. As we know that Bâṇa was contemporary with Hiouen Thsang, we may conclude that Kumârila flourished also after Bâṇa. The correctness of this conclusion it is impossible to dispute as it is based on the positive statement made by a contemporary writer I-tsing, that Bhartṛihari died in 650 A. D Again, Hiouen Thsang fails to mention Bhartṛihari who was obviously his contemporary. How, then, can we expect to find in this Chinese pilgrim's accounts of his travels a reference to Kumârila who certainly flourished after Bhartṛihari?

Hiouen Thsang's omission to mention Kumârila—"the great and dangerous Brahmaṇa enemy of the Buddhists"—is thus satisfactorily accounted for. This was made by Dr. Burnell the basis of his view that Kumârila cannot have lived before 645. That Dr. Burnell was right in spite of Mr. Telang's attacks on[57] this part of his argument is now clear in the light of the facts which I have discovered. Nor does the next Chinese pilgrim mention Kumârila; but he does mention the two illustrious authors whom Kumârila and Śaṁkarâchârya have criticised, namely, Dharmakîrti and Bhartṛihari. But I-tsing's silence as regards Kumârila is sufficiently explained by his own statement that Bhartṛihari became distinguished nearly half a century after his death. And Kumârila, as I have pointed out, must have attacked the grammarian after his fame was established. It is thus easy to perceive that Dharmakîrti and Bhartṛihari supply a missing link between Chinese and Indian evidence and that Kumârila flourished after the two Chinese pilgrims left India.

Inscriptions in the Kanarese country have proved eminently useful in furnishing the latest limit to the age of Kumârila and Śaṁkarâchârya. It is indeed true that these inscriptions do not directly mention Kumârila or Śaṁkarâchârya; but they speak of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings Śubhatuṅga, Vallabha II., Amoghavarsha I. and Akâlavarsha. These are the kings praised in the praśastis of Digambara Jaina Literature which have been discovered by the present writer. These praśastis name the Digambara Jaina authors who flourished contemporaneously

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[57] Mr. Telang's paper on the date of Śaṁkarâchârya, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII., p. 96.

with these kings, namely, Akalaṁka, Vidyânanda *alias* Pâtrakesari, Prabhâchandra, Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. Jinasena's Âdipurâṇa composed about 838 A. D. praises Prabhâchandra and Pâtrakesari who mention Kumârila a hundred times. Prabhâchandra's teacher Akalaṁka is thus referred to in a stone tablet inscription, dated A. D. 1077, at Balagami in Mysore. "In the extensive Śabdaśâstra, he was like the world-renowned Pûjyapâda, in skill in tarkaśâstra he was like Akalaṁkadaiva, in poetical power like Samantabhadra, thus greatly was Râmasena the chief of the learned praised." This is Mr. Rice's version.[58] I may point out that Akalaṁkadaiva in this passage is a mislection for Akalaṁkadeva, a name by which this Jaina author is spoken of by Pampa in his Kanarese work[59] written in Śaka 863. In another stone-tablet inscription at Saundatti, dated Śaka 902, a certain Jaina ascetic is thus spoken of, "he shines like him who was without blemish in (his knowledge of) the six systems of reasoning." This is Mr. Fleet's version.[60] My own rendering of the passage is this, "the ascetic was like Akalaṁka well-versed in the six systems of philosophy." Mr. Fleet's mistake is similar to that which was committed by Dr. Kielhorn in regard to Pûjyapâda and which was pointed out by me in the Indian Antiquary.[61] Pâtrakesari is also mentioned in an inscription at Śravaṇa Belgoḷ in Mysore.[62] He is praised as having refuted the trilakshaṇa or the trilakshaṇa-hetu by the grace of the Jaina goddess Padmâvatî. That this is the meaning of the verse in question is evident from Brahmanemidatta's life of that author.[63] As I have already pointed out, the trilakshaṇa-hetu is discussed and refuted in the Ashṭasahasrî and the Pramâṇaparîkshâ. Mr. Rice, however, has failed to understand this reference. Nayasena mentions Vidyânanda in his Kanarese work, Dharmâmṛita, written in Śaka 1037. Sâyaṇa-Mâdhava quotes[64] the Svarûpasambodhana of Akalaṁka and mentions Vidyânanda and the Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa of

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[58] Mr. Rice's Mysore Inscriptions, p. 132.

[59] Pampa's Âdipurâṇa. Akalaṁka is frequently mentioned by this name in the Ashṭasahasrî.

[60] Mr. Fleet's Inscriptions reprinted from B. Br. R. A. S. Journal, pp. 40, 44.

[61] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 19.

[62] Mr. Rice's Inscriptions at Sravaṇa Belgoḷ, p. 135.

[63] Kathâkośa, Life of Pâtrakesari.

[64] Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha, pp. 28, 29, Bibl. Ind. Ed. Pratâpachandra at 27 is a mistake for Prabhâchandra.

Prabhâchandra. Prof. Cowell speaks of "the Vidyânanda" as if it were the name of a literary work. Kumârila's attacks on Bhartṛihari have also been reproduced in the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha.[65] Thus our evidence is derived from Chinese history, Brahminical and Jaina literature, and inscriptions in the Kanarese country; and the conclusion at which we have arrived is that Kumârila flourished between 700 and 750 A. D. and that Śaṁkarâchârya and his disciple Sureśvara lived between 750 and 838 A. D.

I shall now briefly notice Mr. Telang's arguments as he has invited me to compare them with my own. The fact that Bhartṛihari, whom Kumârila criticises, died in 650 A. D. was available to him when he penned his last contribution.[66] The only course then open to him was to accept that fact or to disprove it. But he leaves it unnoticed because it successfully demolishes his theory and then launches into a wide field of speculation on the date of Kumârila. He contends that Śaṁkarâchârya was living in 570 A. D. According to this mode of reasoning, Śaṁkara's predecessor Kumârila would have to be assigned to about 550 A. D., and Kumârila's predecessor Bhartṛihari, to 525 A. D. And yet this last author died in 650 A. D. according to I-tsing; that is to say, Bhartṛihari must have been more than 125 years old at the time of his death. The absurdity of this position will be sufficiently appreciated by Sanskrit scholars, now that I have stated my facts in full.

Mr. Telang's method of explaining Subandhu's allusions to the overthrow of Digambara Jainism by the Mîmâṁsâ sect will hardly commend itself to scholars who would look to Digambara literature itself and not to Mâdhava's Śaṁkaravijaya for an explanation of them. Besides this argument is vitiated by the gratuitous assumption that there were only three Mîmâṁsâ authors Jaimini, Śabarasvâmi and Kumârila and that as the two former authors do not allude to Jainism, Subandhu's allusions must be necessarily interpreted as referring to Kumârila. This conclusion is erroneous as it is deduced from a false premise. In point of fact there were five Mîmâṁsâ authors as we are told by Prabhâchandra, namely, Jaimini, Upavarsha, Śabarasvâmi, Prabhâkara and Kumârila. The last two authors are referred to in the Ashṭasahasrî and the Jaina Ślokavârtika as the bitterest foes of Jainism. Vidyânanda represents Bhaṭṭa

[65] *Ibid.*, Chapter on Pâṇinîyadarśana, p. 142.

[66] Mr. Telang's paper on Subandhu and Kumârila.

as refuting the views of Prabhâkara, which shows the priority of the latter to the former. Govindânanda says that Prabhâkara is frequently referred to in the Śârîrakabhâshya.[67] He was as distinguished a Mîmâṁsaka as Kumârila; and both are known to have founded two schools of Mîmâṁsâ named after them,—the Prâbhâkara school and the Bhâṭṭa school. An interesting testimony[68] to the existence of both schools before the rise of Śaṁkara is furnished by his "grand-pupil" Sarvajñâtmamuni. In view of these facts it is evident that Subandhu's allusions must be explained as referring to Prabhâkara and not to Kumârila because the latter cannot be assigned to any period anterior to 650 A. D. the date of Bhartṛihari's death. It is clear, therefore, that the supposed allusions to Kumârila in the Vâsavadattâ are altogether illusory and owe their existence to a pure mistake. Nor does Mr. Telang seem to be aware of the fact that Śabarasvâmi does attack Buddhism[69] and is himself criticised in Buddhist literature.[70]

Mr. Telang says that if the allusions are not made out, still the conclusion based on them is correct, "Kumârila being a contemporary of Dharmakîrti, as we know from other evidence." This "other evidence" is no other than that of Taranatha himself on which Mr. Telang has so often attempted to throw discredit; and yet this very evidence we are now asked to accept as the basis of his theory. His other arguments are also equally vague and unsatisfactory. He asserts that Pâṭaliputra was destroyed before 756 A. D., and that "we have no mention of this town in any work of ascertained date, subsequent to the time of Hiouen Thsang." [71] This statement is opposed to facts. Vidyânanda who lived in the first half of the ninth century says[72] "a four-fold division of non-existence is admitted because we can form the conception that a certain thing did not exist before, &c.; why

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[67] Śârîrakabhâshya, Calcutta Ed., Chap. I., Sec. I., pp. 79, 88.

[68] ननु सदृशमिदं वचोद्यमस्मासु कस्मात्
विनिहितमुभयेषां पूर्वमीमांसकानाम् ।
अवगतिकृतमेतद् वाचकत्वं पदाना-
मवगतिरियमिष्टा नन्वरी तत्त्वपेन ॥

Saṁkshepaśârîraka, Chap. III., 24d.

[69] Mîmâṁsâbhâshya, Bibl. Ind. Ed., p. 8.

[70] Dharmottaravritti, D. C. MS., No. 288 of 1873-74, p. 9.

[71] Mr. Telang's Introduction to his edition of the Mudrârâkshasa, p. 15.

[72] Ashṭasahasrî, palm-leaf MS. of the Kolhapur Jaina Maṭha, p. 80b. Pr. K. M., p. 96a.

should we not similarly divide existence because we know that Pâtaliputra or Chitrakûṭa contains [a thing] &c.?" According to Brahmanemidatta Vidyânanda *alias* Pâtrakesari was[73] himself a native of Pâṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha which was ruled by king Avanipâla. Vâchaspatimiśra,[74] Somadeva,[75] Amitagati[76] and a host of other authors mention Pâṭaliputra.

His next argument is based on the mention of a Pûrṇavarmâ in the Śârîraka-bhâshya. Mr. Telang knows of only two Pûrṇavarmâs. One is the Buddhist king of Magadha who, in Mr. Telang's opinion, lived in the sixth century; and the other is the king mentioned in the Javanese inscriptions. We are told that the Buddhist king is the one referred to in the above-mentioned work. Here Mr. Telang is met by the difficulty that a Buddhist king is not likely to be alluded to by a Brahminical author. How is this difficulty to be overcome? By assuming, says Mr. Telang, that Śaṁkara was contemporary with the Buddhist king of Magadha! This is simply begging the question.

The argument based on the Kongudeśarâjakal may be dismissed without ceremony as, Mr. Telang admits, the Tamil chronicle is supposed to be corroborated by copperplates which Mr. Fleet denounces as forgeries. Mr. Telang's last argument is that a commentary on the Sânkhyakârikâs of Îśvarakṛishṇa was translated into Chinese in the latter half of the sixth century, and that this commentary must be that of Gauḍapâda himself. That Gauḍapâda lived before Śaṁkara is a fact which nobody denies; whereas the view that he was Śaṁkara's

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[73] Kathâkośa, Life of Pâtrakesari.

[74] Bhâmatî, Chap. I., sec. I. See my paper on Dharmakîrti and Śaṁkarâchârya. I may add here that Udayana is quoted by Amalânanda, Chap. II., sec. II. The date of Vâchaspatimiśra may be determined from the following table:—

Muñja, contemporary with Taila II.
|
Bhoja
|
Vâchaspatimiśra
|
Udayana
|
Amalânanda, contemporary with Yâdava king Kṛishṇa.

[75] Dr. Peterson's Report for 1883-84, p. 40. The date of the Yaśastilaka is Śaka 882.

[76] Deccan College MS., No. 513 of 1884-86, Dharmaparîkshâ, p. 10*a* The date of the work is Vikrama—Saṁvat 1070.

teacher's teacher is only supported by tradition. But my objection to this argument is that according to the Chinese scholar, Mr. Kasawara,[77] the commentary translated into Chinese, resembles that of Gauḍapâda but does not bear the name of that author; while if it should hereafter turn out to be true that Gauḍapâda's work was translated into Chinese between 557 and 583 A. D., this fact will furnish decisive evidence as to the age of that author but will not be relevant to the question of Śaṁkara's date because Śaṁkara cannot be referred to any period anterior to 650 A.D., the date of the death of Bhartṛihari, whose critic Kumârila is referred to by Śaṁkarâchârya and actually quoted by Sureśvara.

I beg to be allowed to point out a few more facts which have failed to arrest Mr. Telang's notice. In support of his contention that Pûrṇavarmâ was contemporary with Śaṁkara, Mr. Telang says that he "would deduce that conclusion from the mere mention of Pûrṇavarmâ itself; there being no reason why a king who had ceased to reign should be preferred to one who was actually reigning." Now Sureśvara's pupil Sarvajñâtmamuni, who was removed from Śaṁkara himself by a single generation, explains the passage, of which Mr. Telang has made so much, by substituting Yudhishṭhira in the place of Pûrṇavarmâ:

विशेषणानामसति प्रवृत्ति-
र्न दृश्यते क्वापि न युज्यते च ॥
युधिष्ठिरात् प्रागभवन्नरेन्द्रो
वन्ध्यासुतः शूर इतीह यद्वत् ॥ २९० ॥

Saṁkshepa-Śârîraka, Chap. III.

I should not at all be surprised if a proposal were next made to make Yudhishṭhira contemporary with Śaṁkara or Sarvajñâtmamuni or with both; for in his last paper, Mr. Telang was not deterred from assigning to Bhartṛihari's critic Kumârila a higher antiquity than can be claimed for Bhartṛihari himself.

We are also told that "Śaṁkara had a positive reason for naming a living king as the least likely to be regarded as unreal among a people deficient in the historic sense." Here Mr. Telang distinctly

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[77] India, what can it teach us? p. 360, note.

implies that the philosopher was far ahead of his age in the historic sense, despite the fact that he has failed to give the date of any one of the numerous works that he actually wrote. But Mr. Telang directly contradicts himself in his second paper entitled Pûrṇavarmâ[78] and Śaṁkarâchârya where he remarks that the philosopher was deficient in the historic sense because he speaks of Pûrṇavarmâ's family as obscure. But the proposed identification of Śaṁkara's Pûrṇavarmâ with the Buddhist king of that name is now untenable because it comes into direct conflict with the explicit statement of the Chinese traveller I-tsing that Bhartṛihari, who, as I have proved, chronologically preceded Kumârila and Śaṁkarâchârya, died in the middle of the seventh century. Again Mr. Telang is hardly consistent when in his paper read before this Society on the 19th March 1889, he refers to Dr. Bhandarkar as an authority in support of his contention in complete disregard of the fact that the learned Doctor in his latest report published nearly two years before, that is, on the 5 October 1887, says that "Śaṁkarâchârya's usually accepted date is the end of the eighth century" and that "Kumârila has been placed a hundred years before."

Mr. Telang also tells us that "Śaṁkara's works contain no allusions suggestive of associations with men or things of the South." This, however, is not a fact as I have shown that Śaṁkara criticises the views of Kumârila, Samantabhadra and Dharmakîrti, authors who flourished in Southern India.[79] Śaṁkarâchârya borrows from Kumârilabhaṭṭa a well known illustration of an elephant and an ant urged against the Jaina doctrine that the soul has the same size as the body.[80] Then again Śaṁkarâchârya never mentions the Śvetâmbara Jainas, but always speaks of the Digambara sect which flourished in Southern India.[81] In his commentary on Gauḍapâda's Âgamakârikâs he refers to the Digvâsâḥ[82] and in the Śârîraka-bhâshya he discusses the Vivasana-mata. The expression Visichâm, *i.e.*, "of the Digambaras" is contrasted with Raktapaṭânâm, *i.e.*, of the "Bauddhas" in a well-known[83] passage which has been misunderstood and mistranslated

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78 Journal, B. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., p. 78.

79 Ind. Ant., Vol. IV., p 365.

80 Śârîrakabhâshya, Ânandâśrama Edition, p. 567. Tantravârtika, p. 380.

81 Ratnanandi's Bhadrabâhucharitra.

82 Gauḍapâda's Kârikâs, Ânandâśrama Edition, p. 200.

83 Śârîrakabhâshya, Ânandâśrama Edition, pp. 570.

by Dr. Thibaut in a volume which he has lately contributed to the Sacred Books of the East.[84]

I have satisfactorily disposed of all Mr. Telang's arguments. I shall now recapitulate the points I have proved in the present paper. Hiouen Thsang left India in 645 A. D. Five years later died Bhartṛihari the author of the Vâkyapadîya, whose renown as a grammarian was established in India nearly half a century later as we learn from I-tsing. The Vâkyapadîya of Bhartṛihari is frequently quoted by Kumârila in his Tantravârtika. This last work must have been composed necessarily after Bhartṛihari's fame was established. For these reasons I hold that Kumârila flourished after the two Chinese pilgrims Hiouen Thsang and I-tsing left India, that is to say, after 700 A. D. He flourished immediately before Akalaṁka, whom I have assigned to the second half of the eighth century, and whose pupil Prabhâchandra so frequently mentions the author of the Tantravârtika; in other words, Kumârila belongs to the first half of the eighth century.

The importance of determining the age of Kumârila, Akalaṁkadeva and Śaṁkarâchârya cannot be exaggerated. The Buddhist writer Târânâtha, the Jaina writer Brahmanemidatta and the Brahminical writer Mâdhavâchârya are unanimous in dating the decline of the religion founded by the sage of Kapilavastu, which proclaimed to the world the brotherhood of man, and which was a protest against the illiberal spirit displayed by the followers of the Vedic religion, from the appearance of those illustrious authors in Southern India. The age of Kumârila, Akalaṁkadeva, and Śaṁkarâchârya was an age that witnessed the overthrow of the Châlukya empire, and the rise of the Râshṭrakûṭa dominion over its ruins; it was also an age that saw the brief splendour of the Mîmâmsâ sect followed by a reaction in favour of Jainism, which reached its culminating point in the time of Amoghavarsha I., whose long and prosperous reign may be justly entitled the Augustan period of Digambara Literature.

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[84] Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXIV., p. 433.

ART. XVII.—*Transcripts and Translations with Remarks of Râshṭrakûṭa and Kalachuri Copper-plate Grants.* By DR. R. G. BHANDARKAR, M.A., C.I.E.

[Read, 30th July 1892.]

I.

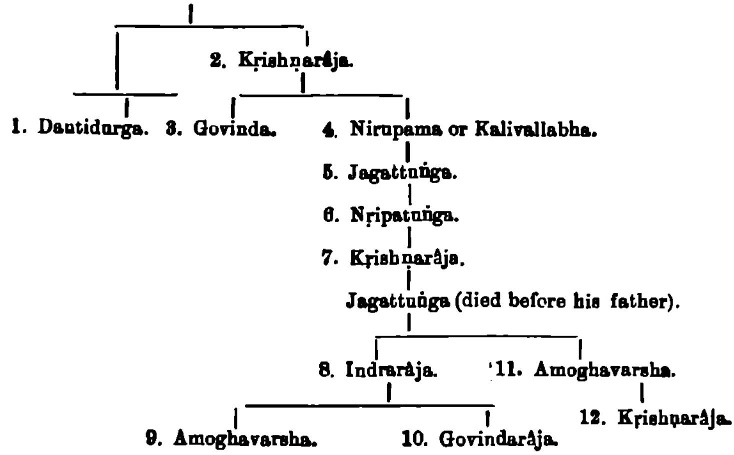
A Copper-plate Grant found near Wardha in the Central Provinces.

The Copper-plates, a transcript and translation of the inscription on which, I place before the Society to-day, were found in a well in Deoli, about 10 miles south-west of Wardha near Nagpur. Excellent impressions of the tablets were prepared by Dr. MacDonald, Superintendent of the Central Jail, Nagpur, and forwarded to the Society for being deciphered, by Mr. T. Drysdale, Deputy Commissioner of Wardha. The Secretary sent the impressions to me. I read them and communicated the contents to the Secretary, requesting him at the same time to ask the Deputy Commissioner to send over the original plates to us, as the impression was indistinct in a few places. These were kindly forwarded to us by that officer.

The plates are three in number, each being a foot in length and eight inches in breadth. The inscription is engraved on one side of the first plate, on both sides of the second, and on one side of the third. The letters are carefully and well formed in the first part, but in the latter, the work is negligently done. The seal bears a figure of Śiva.

The inscription is a charter announcing the grant of a village named Tâlapuruṁshaka, situated in the district of Nâgapura-Nandivardhana, to a Brahman named Ṛishiyappa or Ṛishiyapayya of the Vedic school of Vâji, Kaṇva, and Kata, and of the Bhâradvâja *gotra*. The grant was made by Kṛishṇa or Akâlavarsha of the Râshṭrakûṭa family in the name of his brother Jagattuṅga, while living at his capital Mânyakheṭa, in the year 862 expired, of the Śaka era, corresponding to 940 A. D.,

on the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśâkha, the cyclic year being Śârvari. The genealogy of Kṛishṇarâja is thus given :—



This grant clears up several doubts and difficulties as regards the genealogy of the Râshṭrakûṭas. In the first place, the Râshṭrakûṭa family is said to have sprung from the Sâtyaki branch of the Yâdava race. The genealogy begins with Dantidurga as it was he who acquired for his family the supreme sovereignty of Mahârâshṭra or Dekkan, the limits of which were the Narmadâ on the north and the Tuṅgabhadrâ in the south. He was succeeded by his paternal uncle Kṛishṇarâja who is represented to have decorated the earth with many temples of Śiva which looked like the Kailâsa mountain. I have shewn in my ***Early Dekkan History*** that a temple of exceedingly great beauty was caused to be constructed at Ellora by this Kṛishṇarâja; and my view that it was probably that known by the name of Kailâsa which he constructed seems to be confirmed by the comparison with the Kailâsa contained in this grant. The circumstances under which Dhruva Nirupama superseded his brother Govinda are distinctly given. Sensual pleasures made Govinda careless of the kingdom, and entrusting the affairs of the state to his brother he allowed the sovereign power to drop away from his hands. Nothing particular is stated about Govinda III. or Jaguttuṅga. His son, known as Amoghavarsha, the great patron of Digambara Jainas, is called Nṛipatuṅga, which name is found in a Jaina work also.

The city of Mânyakheṭa, which, in one grant, is mentioned as simply flourishing in his time, is represented here to have been founded by him. His son, Kṛishṇarâja, who is also known by the name of Akâlavarsha, is spoken of as a powerful prince, and several particulars are given about him. He frightened the Gûrjara, destroyed the egregious pride of the Lâṭa, taught humility to the Gauḍas, and his command was obeyed by the Andhra, the Kaliṅga, the Gâṅga, and the Magadha. As this Kṛishṇarâja was not the reigning prince, whom the writer of the charter might be suspected of flattering, and as the grant is not reticent about the faults also of some of the princes, this account may be relied on as true. Akâlavarsha is represented as a powerful prince in the Praśasti at the end of the Uttara Purâṇa of the Jainas also. The Lâṭa prince alluded to seems to have belonged to the Gujarat branch of the Râshṭrakûṭa family which was founded in the time of Govinda III. or Jagattuṅga who assigned the province of Lâṭa, that he had conquered, to his brother Indra. Akâlavarsha, the grandson of Jagattuṅga, seems thus to have humbled or uprooted his kinsmen of the Lâṭa country. Jagattuṅga was the name of Akâlavarsha's son, and from the mere fact of the mention of his name in the grants he was supposed to have been a reigning prince; and following others, I have stated in the English edition of my *Early Dekkan History* that he became king after his father. But from a number of circumstances it soon appeared to me that he could not have been an actual king, and in the Marathi edition of my work I have corrected the statement. This inference of mine has now been confirmed by the grant before us in which he is represented to have been "taken away by the Creator to Heaven without having succeeded to the throne, as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels" who had heard of his beauty. Akâlavarsha was thus succeeded by his grandson Indra, the son of Jagattuṅga. There has hitherto been some confusion as regards the next prince named Amoghavarsha who was the son of Indra. He is not mentioned by name or as a king in the Sâṅgalî grant of his brother and successor, but is noticed in the Khârepâṭan grant; while in the third and only other grant which gives us information about the two princes, there is a mistake which has led all writers on the subject to drop Govinda altogether, and regard Amoghavarsha as the only prince. But the grant before us clears the difficulty. Amoghavarsha is there spoken of as "having immediately gone to Heaven as if through affection for his father." He reigned therefore for a very short time, perhaps for a

few months or even days, and hence is not noticed in the Sângalî grant. The next prince, Govinda, is of course highly praised in his Sângalî grant. But the grant before us represents him to be a prince addicted to sensual pleasures, and to have died an early death on account of his vicious courses. The Khârepâṭan grant agrees with it speaking of him as "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love and as surrounded by women." Our grant agrees also with that found at Khârepâṭan in representing his successor as a very virtuous prince. His name was Amoghavarsha, and he was the son of Jagattuṅga, and consequently the uncle of Govinda. He assumed the throne, being entreated to do so by the feudatory Chiefs, who thought there was none else able to maintain the power of the Râshṭrakûṭas. The Khârepâṭan grant gives his proper name which was Baddiga. He was assisted in the government of the kingdom by his son Kṛishṇa who was engaged in wars with his neighbours and subjugated Dantiga, who probably was the ruler of Kâñchi, and Bappuka. He uprooted Rachhyâmalla and placed on the throne in the Gâṅga country (Vâṭî, *i.e.*, Gaṅgevâḍî) a prince of the name of Bhûtârya. In an inscription at Âtakûr noticed by Mr. Rice[1] and recently published by Dr. Fleet,[2] one Bûtuga is represented to have killed a prince of the name of Râchamalla and to have made himself master of the Gâṅga country. Bûtuga assisted Kannaradeva, *i. e.*, Kṛishṇa III., who is mentioned at the beginning of the inscription, in destroying Râjâditya, the Chola king, and received a reward from him. Bûtuga is elsewhere called Bûtayya[3], and our Bhûtârya is a Sanskṛitised form of this, while our Rachhyâmalla is clearly the Râchamalla of the Âtakûr inscription. But in the latter, Kṛishṇa's connection with the destruction of Râchamalla, and the rise of Bûtayya, is not mentioned. The reason probably is that it was not necessary to state the fact in that manner. But there can be no question that Bûtayya was assisted by Kṛishṇa and owed his elevation to him, since in the fight with Râjâditya, Bûtayya acted as if he was his feudatory and received a reward as from a master. The Pallava that Kṛishṇa is mentioned to have subdued was probably the same as Dantiga, and Bappuka was perhaps another name of Râjâditya the Chola.

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[1] Śravaṇa Belgola Inscriptions, p. 21.

[2] Epigraphica Indica, Vol. II., Part XI., p. 173.

[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 270.

On the death of Amoghavarsha, which seems to have taken place a short time before the date of this grant, Kṛishṇarâja ascended the throne. He was called Akâlavarsha also, as another prince of this dynasty bearing the name Kṛishṇa was. Here too the present grant clears up a difficulty. Misunderstanding a passage in the Karda grant, Kṛishṇa is made by writers on this dynasty to be an elder brother of Amoghavarsha, and another Kṛishṇa is brought in who is identified with one of his younger sons who never reigned but is represented to have reigned and is called Kṛishṇa IV. In my *Early Dekkan History* I have given the true sense of the passage and shewn the mistakes. The Khârepâṭan grant, which gives the true relationship, and is perfectly clear on the points, was disregarded. But now this grant confirms the account in the Khârepâṭan plates, so far as it goes, and, according to them both, Baddiga or Amoghavarsha had no brother of the name of Kṛishṇa who could have preceded or succeeded him; and that the king who preceded him was his nephew Govinda IV., and the Kṛishṇa, who succeeded him, was his son. There was no other Kṛishṇa who followed this last and could be called Kṛishṇa IV. according to any of our authorities.[1] Jagattuṅga, the brother of Kṛishṇarâja in whose name the grant of the village is made, must have died before him; for the latter was succeeded by Khoṭṭiga who appears to have been Kṛishṇarâja's step-brother according to the Karda grant; and he was followed by the son of his brother Nirupama. Jagattuṅga's name therefore does not appear in the subsequent history, but those of his brothers who were probably his step-brothers.

The name of the grantee ends in *appa* or *apayya* which shews that he was a Tailaṅga Brahman. He belonged to the Kâṇva school of the white Yajurveda, and even at the present day there are the followers of that school near Nagpur. The village Tâlapuruṁshaka, which was granted, was bounded on the east by another of the name of

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[1] My correction of the mistake about the two Kṛishṇas was not noticed till very recently, though it was made more than eight years ago. For the Âtakûra inscription noticed above is on, the wrapper of Part X. of the Epigraphica Indica issued in August last referred to "the time of Krishṇa IV." I am, however, glad to see it has since attracted attention, and the mistake has come to be *tacitly* acknowledged as such. For in Part XI. of the same periodical issued in September last, only a month later, that same inscription is published as "Âtakûr inscription of the time of *Kṛishṇa III.*"

Mâdâvaṭaṭara, on the south by the river Kandanâ, on the west by the village of Mohama or Mohamagrâma, and on the north by Badhrîra. Of these, Kandanâ is the river Kanhana which has a course from the north-west of Nagpur to the south-east; Mohama or Mohamagrâma is the Mohgaon of the present day, situated in the Chhindwârâ district, about 50 miles to the north-west of Nagpur, and Badhṛîra is Berdi in the vicinity of that town. Nothing corresponding to the remaining two names appears on the map, and I am not able to identify them.

I.

स जयति ज(?)गदुत्सवप्रवेशप्रथनपरः करपल्लवो मुरारेः । लसदमृतपयः क-
णांकलक्ष्मीस्तनकलशाननलब्धसंनिवेशः ॥ जयति च गिरिजाकपोलबिम्बादधिगतप-
त्रविचित्रितांसभित्तिः । त्रिपुरविजयिनः प्रियोपरोधाद्धृतमदनाभयदानशासनेव ॥
श्रीमानस्ति नभस्तलैकतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यनेत्रोत्सवो देवो मन्मथबान्धवः कुमुदिनीनाथस्सु-
धादीधितिः । निःशेषामरतर्प्पणार्प्पिततनुप्रक्षीणतालंकृतेर्यस्यांशः शिरसा गुणप्रियतया
नूनं धृतः सं(शं)भुना ॥ तस्माद्विकासनपरः कुमुदावलीनां दोषांधकारदलनः परिपूरिताशः । ज्यो-
त्स्नाप्रवाह इव दर्शितशुद्धपक्षः प्रावर्त्तत क्षितितले क्षितिपालवंशः ॥ अभवदतुल-
कान्तिस्तत्र मुक्तामणीनां गण इव यदुवंशो दुग्धसिन्धूयमाने । अधिगतहरिनीलप्रो-
ल्लसन्नायकश्रीरशिथिलगुणसंगो भूषणं यो भुवोभूत् ॥ उद्वृत्तदैत्यकुलकन्दलशान्तिहेतुस्तत्रा-
वतारमकरोत्पुरुषः पुराणः । तद्वंशजा जगति सात्यकिवर्गभाजस्तुंगा इति क्षितिभुजः प्रथिता
बभूवुः ॥ क्षितितलतिलकस्तदन्वये च क्षतरिपुदन्तिघटोजनिष्ट रट्टः । तमनु च सुतराष्ट्रकूट-
नाम्ना भुवि विदितोजनि राष्ट्रकूटवंशः ॥ तस्मादरातिवनिताकुचचारुहारनीहारभानुरुदगा-
दिह दन्तिदुर्ग्गः । एकं चकार चतुरब्ध्युपकण्ठसीम क्षेत्रं य एतदसिलांगलभिन्नदुर्ग्गः ॥ तस्मा-
दपालयदिमां वसुधां पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः शरदभ्रशुभ्रैः । यत्कारितेश्वरगृहैर्व्वसु-
मत्यनेककैलासशैलनिचितेव चिरं विभाति ॥ गोविन्दराज इति तस्य बभूव नाम्ना सूनुस्स भो

II. first side.

गभरभङ्गुरराज्यचिन्तः । आत्मानुजे निरुपमे विनिवेश्य सम्यक्साम्राज्यमीश्वरपदं शिथिलीचकार ॥ श्वे-
तातपत्त्रत्रितयेन्दुबिम्बलीलोदयाद्रेः कलिवल्लभाख्यात् । ततः कृतारातिमदेभभंगो जातो जगत्तुंग-
मृगाधिराजः ॥ तत्सूनुराननतनृपो नृपतुंगदेवः सोभूत्स्वसैन्यभरभंगुरिताहिराजः । यो मान्यखे-
टममरेन्द्रपुरोपहासि गीर्व्वाणगर्व्वमिव खर्व्वयितुं व्यधत्त ॥ तस्योर्ज्जितगूर्ज्जरो हृतहटल्लाटो-
द्भटश्रीमदो गौडानां विनयव्रतार्प्पणगुरुस्सामुद्रनिद्राहरः । द्वारस्थांध्रकलिंगगांगमगधै-
रभ्यर्च्चि[र्च्चि]ताज्ञश्चिरं सूनुस्सूनृतवाग्भुवः परिवृढः श्रीकृष्णराजोभवत् ॥ अभूज्जगत्तुंग इति प्रसि-
द्धस्तदंगजः स्त्रीनयनामृतांशुः । अलब्धराज्यः स दिवं विनिन्ये दिव्यांगनाप्रार्थनयेव धात्रा । त-
न्नंदनः क्षितिमपालयदिन्द्रराजो यद्रूपसम्भवपराभवभीरुणेव । मानात्पुरे-
व मदनेन पिनाकपाणिकोपाग्निना निजतनुः कृ(क्रि)यते स्म भस्म ॥ तस्मादमोघवर्षो(र्षो)
रौद्रधनुर्भंगजनितबलमहिमा । राम इव रामणीयकमहानिधिर्द्दशरथाज्जातः ॥ क्षिप्रं दि-
वं पितुरिव प्रणयाद्गतस्य तस्यानुजो मनुजलोकललामभूतः । राज्यं दधे मदनसौख्य-
विलासकन्दो गोविन्दराज इति विश्रुतनामधेयः ॥ सोप्यंगनानयनपाशनिरुद्धबुद्धिरुन्मा-
र्गसंगविमुखीकृतसर्व्वसत्त्वः । दोषप्रकोपविषमप्रकृतिश्लथांगः प्रापत्क्षयं सहजतेज-
सि जातजाड्ये ॥ सामन्तैरथ रट्टराज्यमहिमालम्बार्थमभ्यर्थितो देवेनापि पिनाकिना हरिकु-
लोल्लासैषिणा प्रेरितः । अध्यास्त प्रथमो विवेकिषु जगत्तुंगात्मजोमोघवाक्पेयूषाब्धि-

II. second side.

रमोघवर्षनृपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनं ॥ श्रीकृष्णराजदेवस्तस्मात्परमेश्वरादजनि सूनुः ।
यः शक्तिधरः स्वामी कुमारभावेप्यभूद्भुवने ॥ श्रीरट्टराज्यपुरवररक्षापरिखं(खां) मदेन य-
स्याज्ञां । विपुलां विलंघयन्तः स्वयमपतं(तन्) द्रोहिणोधस्तात् ॥ येन मधुकैटभाविव पुनरुन्म-
त्तौ जनोपमर्द्दाय । श्रीवल्लभेन निहतौ भुवि दन्तिगवप्पुकौ दुष्टौ ॥ रछ्यामल्लविषद्रुममुद-
स्य निहितेन योकृत सनाथां । भूतार्यपुण्यतरुणा वाटीमिव गांगपाटीरे ॥ परिमलिवा(ता?)ण्ठि-
गपल्लवविपत्तिरासीन्न विस्मयस्थानं । विस्फुरति यत्प्रतापे शोषितविद्वेषिगांगौघेव यस्य
परुषेक्षिताखिलदाक्षिणदिग्दुर्ग्गविजयमाकर्ण्य । गलिता गुर्ज्जरहृदयात्कालंज-
रचित्रकूटाशा ॥ अनमन्नापूर्वापरजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलद्वीपात् । यं जन-
काज्ञावशमपि मण्डलिनश्चण्डदण्डभया(या)त(त्) ॥ स्निग्धश्यामरुचा प्रलम्बभुजा(ज)या पीनायतोरस्कया
मूर्त्त्य(र्त्या) कीर्त्तिलताहितामृतजलैर्वृत्तैश्च सत्त्वोद्भवैः । ज्ञात्वा यं पुरुषोत्तमं भरसहं विस्वं(श्वं)भरा-
भ्युद्धृतौ शान्ते धाम्नि लयं गत(:) प्रशमिनामाद्यः कृतार्थः पिता । वृत्ते नृत्तसुरांगने सरभसं
दिव्यर्षिदत्ताशिषि श्रीकान्तस्य नितान्तभापितहरे राज्याभिषेकोत्सवे । यस्यावद्धकरग्रहोद्य-
मभवत्कंपानुरागोदयाद्दिक्कन्याः स्वसमर्प्पणार्थमभवल्लमानुक(कू)ल्यामियाः ॥ स च परम-
भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवपादानुद्धया(ध्या)तपरमभट्टा-
रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वर श्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीष(श)र्वे-
मेय(मिय?)नरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वाके(ने)व स्वजानपदान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्य-

III.

[खे] टराजधानीस्थितेन शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु द्विषष्ट्यधिकेषु शार्व्वरिसं-
वत्सरान्तर्गतवैशाखबहुलपण्च(ञ्च)म्यां मम प्राणेभ्योपि प्रियतमस्य कनीयसो भ्रातुः श्रीम-
ज्जगत्तुंगदेवस्य पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ॥ अपि च ॥ ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि कुर्व्वता निरुपमां भक्तिं जितो
लक्ष्मणः सौन्दर्य्येण मनोभवः सुचरितैरामस्स धर्म्मात्मज (:) । कान्त्या शीतरुचिश्च येन सततं शौर्य्ये-
ण सिंहो जगत्तुंगस्यास्त्वभिवांच्छितप्रदमिदं तस्येति दानं भुवः ॥ अनेनाभिसंधिना मया नन्दि-
[.]
वर्द्धनविनिर्गतभारद्वाजसगोत्रवाजिकाण्वकता(कात्य ?)सब्रह्मचारिभाइल्लसुतवेदवेदाग-
पारगारिलि(षि)यप्पाय नागपुरनन्दिवर्द्धनान्तर्गततालपुरुषंकनामा ग्रामः सोद्रंगः स-
परिकरः सधान्यहिरण्यदेयः सदण्डदोषदशापराधः सर्व्वोत्पत्तिसहितः
पूर्व्वमसिद्धचतुःसीमपर्यन्तः । ब्रह्मदायन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कनमस्यो दत्तः । य-
स्य पूर्व्वतः मादावटटरनामा ग्रामः । दक्षिणतः कन्दना नदी । पश्चिमतः मोहमग्रामः । उ-
त्तरतः बध्रीरग्राम एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धं तालपुरुषंकं रिषियपय्यस्य कृषतः कर्षयतो
भुंजतो भोजयतो वा न केनचिद्व्याघातः कार्यः । यश्च व्याघातं करोति स पण्च(ञ्च)भिरपि महा-
पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यात् ॥ अन्यच्च (?) ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमि-
र्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । स-
र्वानेवं भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ चेवानन्वेरस्य भ्रात्रा योग्राष्टये-
न लिखितमिति ॥

TRANSLATION.

Triumphant is the leaf-like hand of the enemy of Mura (Vishṇu), which, being placed on the jar-like breasts of Lakshmî marked by particles of nectar-water, and on her face, proclaimed the entrance of the world on a joyous festival. And triumphant is the rampart-like shoulder of the conqueror of the three cities or of Tripura (Śîva), which is adorned by the colored figures impressed on it by the [close contact of the] cheeks of the daughter of the Mountain (Pârvatî), and which thus bears as it were through a regard for his beloved an edict promising safety to the god of Love. There is the glorious god, the only ornament of the surface of the sky, the delight of the eyes of the three worlds, the friend of Love, the lord of the night-lotus plants, whose rays are full of nectar, whose diminished form, owing to his having given up his body for the gratification of the gods, is his ornament, and a part of whom is worn on the head by Śambhu—verily on account of his love for virtues. From him sprang forth on earth a race of princes like a stream of moonlight, which extended the series of the joys of the world as that blows open the series of night-lotuses, which destroyed the darkness of sin as that destroys the darkness of night, which spread in all quarters (as that does), and which had unblemished adherents as that constituted the light half of a month.[1] From that race which was like an ocean of milk arose the family of Yadu, like a necklace of pearls, which like it had a matchless splendour, the leadership of which was gracefully borne by the dark-complexioned Hari when he flourished, as the beauty of the central gem in that is borne by a sapphire when it is put in, which had indelible virtues, as that is firmly interwoven with a string,[2] and which was the ornament of the world. In that family, the eternal Being became incarnate to destroy the crowds of Daityas who had grown tumultuous ; and members of that family belonging to the Sâtyaki clan became celebrated princes, because they were great. From that race sprang Raṭṭa, the ornament of the surface of the earth, who killed the arrays of the elephants of his enemies ; after him the Râshṭrakûṭa

[1] The epithets here are used in two senses, one of which is applicable to the family of the moon and the other to the moonlight.

[2] The epithets अधिगतहरिनीलप्रोल्लसन्नायकश्रीः and अशिथिलगुणसंगः have two senses, one applicable to the family of Yadu and the other to the necklace of pearls.

family became known in the world by the name of [his] son Râshṭrakûṭa. From that [family] arose DANTIDURGGA, who was a sun to the fog in the shape of the charming necklaces on the breasts of the wives of his enemies, and who having broken the unevennesses by a ploughshare in the shape of his sword, made this one field with the shores of the four oceans for its boundaries. After him, his paternal uncle, King KṚISHṆARÂJA, protected this earth, by the temples of Îśvara (Śiva) constructed by whom the earth shines for ever as if decorated by many Kailâsa mountains. He had a son of the name of GOVINDARÂJA. Sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom, and entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose. From him who was called Kalivallabha, and who was the sportive rising mount of the moon in the shape of the triad of the white umbrellas, was born Jagattuṅga, the lion who destroyed the maddened elephants of his enemies. His son, to whom kings bowed, and who tortured the king of serpents by the heavy mass of his army, was that lord NṚIPATUNGA who founded Mânyakheṭa which laughed down [to scorn] the city of the Indra of the gods, in order as it were to humble the pride of the gods. His son, the prosperous KṚISHṆARÂJA, became for a long time the lord of the earth, who spoke pleasant words, frightened the Gûrjjara, destroyed the egregious pride generated by prosperity of the arrogant Lâṭa [king], was the preceptor who charged the Gauḍas with the vow of humility, and deprived the people on the sea coast of their sleep, and whose command was honoured (obeyed) by the Andhra, the Kaliṅga, the Gâṅga, and the Magadha waiting at his gate. He had a son, known as Jagattuṅga, who was a nectar-rayed [moon] to the eyes of women. He was taken to heaven by the creator without his having got the kingdom as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels. INDRARÂJA his son protected the earth; it was from a fear as it were of the indignity likely to be caused [in future] by his beauty that the god of Love, even before, reduced his body to ashes through pride by means of the fire of the wrath of the wielder of the Pinâka (Śiva). From him was born AMOGHAVARSHA, as Râma was from Daśaratha, the greatness of whose power was shewn by the breaking of a terrible bow, as that of his was by the breaking of the bow of Rudra[1] and who (like him) was the great store-house of beauty. He having

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[1] रौद्रधनुर्भंग has two senses.

immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection for his father, his younger brother, the ornament of the world of men, and the source of the sportive pleasures of love, known by the name of GOVINDARÂJA, ruled the kingdom. And he, too, with his intelligence, fettered by the chains of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses; and his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of the maladies, and the constituents of the [political] body becoming non-coherent, as the subjects were discontented through the aggravation of the vices,[1] and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralized, he met with destruction. Then the King AMOGHAVARSHA, son of Jagattuṅga, the first among the thoughtful or wise, the sea of the nectar of whose words was unfailing, being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Raṭṭas and also prompted by the god, the wielder of the Pinâka (Śiva), who desired the prosperity of the family of Hari (Krishṇa), ascended the throne of heroes. From that sovereign lord was born a son, the King KṚISHṆARÂJA, who, though a boy, exercised power in the world and was the lord, and was verily Kumâra, Śaktidhara, and Śvâmin.[2] His enemies transgressing his command which was the wide moat that protected the great city in the shape of the sovereignty of the Raṭṭas, themselves fell down. He, Śrî-Vallabha, killed on this earth the wicked Dantiga and Bappuka, who were as it were Madhu and Kaiṭabha, again grown insolent for the torment of men. He planted as it were in a garden in the field of the Gâṅgas the holy tree of Bhûtârya, having uprooted the poisonous tree of Rachhyâmalla. While his prowess which was like heat and which destroyed numbers of Gâṅgas his enemies, as that (heat) dries up the stream of the Ganges, was glowing, what wonder is there if the Pallava Aṇṭhiga (Dantiga?) who was beaten was reduced to a sad condition as fragrant leaves are by heat[3]? On hearing of the conquest of the strongholds in the south simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kâlañjara and Chitrakûṭa dropped away from the heart of the Gûrjjara. All the feudatories from the eastern to the western ocean and from the

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[1] The epithet दोषप्रकोप &c., has two senses, one physical and the other political. So also तेजस् in सहजतेजसि is to be taken in two senses, one fitting with the physical interpretation and the other with the political.

[2] These are three of the names of the god Kârtikeya. The words are to be interpreted also in their ordinary sense as above.

[3] There is a play here on the words "Gâṅga" and 'Pallava."

Himâlaya to the island of Simhala bowed to him from the fear of being severely punished, though he himself was obedient to his father. By his bodily form, which had a dark glossy colour, long arms, and broad and massive chest, and by his virtuous deeds, which were the nectar-water that fed the creeper in the shape of his fame, knowing him to be an excellent man (or Vishṇu) to deliver the earth (or bring out the submerged earth), his father, the best of sages, who had attained the object of life, vanished into the peaceful abode. When the festival consequent on the coronation of the beloved of Śrî (prosperity), who had greatly frightened Hari (husband of Śrî), in which celestial damsels danced, and the heavenly Ṛishis pronounced their benedictions was over, the quarters as girls, which began to tremble at his preparation to exact tribute, as those should manifest love and tremor at his preparation to take their hand, became pleasing to him in consequence of their observing the proper time for paying it of their own accord, as those should be dear in consequence of their keeping to the auspicious juncture for giving themselves.[1] He, the King Akâlavarshadeva, the highest lord, the sovereign lord of kings, the highest ruler, a great devotee of Maheśvara, Pṛithvîvallabha, the favourite of Śarva (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of the prosperous Amoghavarshadeva, the highest lord, the sovereign lord of kings, the highest ruler, being well, commands the men of his country: "Be it known to you, that for the enhancement of the holy fame of my younger brother, Jagattuṅgadeva, who is dearer to me even than my life, I have, living in the capital Mânyakheṭa, granted on the fifth of the dark half of Vaiśâkha of the year Śârvari, when eight hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, with the feeling that this grant of land may fulfil the wishes of Jagattuṅga, as if it were his,— Jagattuṅg, who has surpassed Lakshmaṇa, by serving his eldest brother with incomparable devotion, the god of Love by his beauty, and Râma (and) the son of Dharma by his good deeds, the cool-rayed (moon) by his lustre, and the lion by his bravery—to Ṛishiyappa, originally living in Nandivardhana, belonging to the Bhâradvâja Gotra, student of the Vedic school of Vâji, Kaṇva, and Kata, the son of Bhâilla, and conversant with the Vedas and the subsidiary treatises, the village of Tâlapurumshaka, situated in Nâgapura-Nandivardhana, along with what is set aside and the appurtenances, with the assessment in grain

[1] Two senses here throughout.

and gold, with the flaws in the measurement, (measuring rod) and mishaps (due to fortune),[1] with all its produce, up to its four previously known boundaries, and to be respected as long as the sun and the moon last, in the manner of a Brahman-gift. To the east of it is a village of the name of Mâdâvaṭaṭara, to the south the river Kandanâ, to the west the village of Mohama, [and] to the north the village of Badhrîra. No one should obstruct Ṛishiyapayya while he cultivates Tâlapuruṁshaka having these four boundaries, or causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed; and he who will obstruct will incur the five great sins. Moreover:—'He who takes away the land that has been given away by himself or others, becomes a *worm in ordure* and wallows there along with his ancestors. Râmabhadra again and again entreats future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue which is common to all kings.'" Engraved by Yogrâshṭya, the brother of Chevânanvera.

II.

Two sets of Copper-plates from the Navsari District, marked A and B.

These sets were forwarded to the Society by the Baroda Government and made over to me for transcription and translation. On reading them I found they were the same as those shewn by the Baroda Divan to Mr. H. H. Dhruva. Mr. Dhruva published a transcript of them with remarks in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, Vol. XL., but did not give a translation. I have got Mr. Shridhar R. Bhandarkar to prepare one for this paper, and now submit it to the Society.

Each of the plates is 13 inches long and 9 broad. As in the case of the Wardha plates, the first has the inscription on one side, the second on both, and the third on one. The seal has the figure of Śiva on it.

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[1] This, I think, is the proper translation of the phrase सदण्डदोषदशापराध or सदण्डदशापराध, which occurs in almost all grants, but the correct or appropriate sense of which does not seem to have been yet found out. By inserting this expression the grantor absolves himself from all responsibility about loss consequent upon a mistake in the measurement and upon changes due to adverse natural occurrences or the "doings of God" as they are called.

Each of these sets records the grant of a village to a Brahman, made by Indra, the son of Jagattuṅga and grandson of Kṛishṇa or Akâlavarsha of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty of Mânyakheṭa, on the seventh of the bright half of Phâlguna, when 836 years of the Śaka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Yuvan. The grantee in B. is a Brahman, of the name of Siddhapabhaṭṭa, son of Vennapa Bhaṭṭa of the Lakshmaṇa Gotra, and student of the Mâdhyaṁdina School of the Vâjasaneya or white Yajurveda; and the village conveyed is Tenna in the Lâṭa country. In A. the grantee's name is Prabhâkarabhaṭṭa, son of Râṇapabhaṭṭa of the same Gotra and Veda as the other, and the village conveyed is Umbarâ in the Lâṭa country. The Râshṭrakûṭas belonged, according to this charter also, to the Sâtyaki branch of the Yâdavas, and the genealogy given in it begins with Dantidurga, the first paramount sovereign of the dynasty. He was succeeded by his uncle Kṛishṇa. The name of Kṛishṇa's immediate successor, Govinda II., is omitted, undoubtedly because, as stated in the Wardha grant, he was addicted to sensual pleasures and left the government to his brother Nirupama. Nirupama's exploit, given in other grants, is mentioned here also, *viz.*, his having captured the white state umbrella of the king of Kosala and another of a northern prince. This northern prince was the king of the Vatsas whose capital was Kauśâmbî, the modern Kosam, near Allahabad. Dhruva Nirupama was followed by Jagattuṅga, of whom the only thing said is, that he honoured the Brahmans. His son, who is elsewhere known by the name of Amoghavarsha and Nṛipatuṅga, is here called Śrî-Vallabha. He is represented to have re-established the glory of his family which had been diminished by the Châlukyas, and to have parched or fried the Châlukyas, as if they were grains of gram. These Châlukyas must have been the Eastern Châlukyas of Veṅgi. His son, who succeeded him, was Kṛishṇarâja, elsewhere called Akâlavarsha and Śubhatuṅga. Of his fights with the Gûrjara, old men used to say when there were heavy showers and rainbows during the rainy-season, " thus did he in anger draw his bow which was covered over with a network of jewels darting forth rays, and thus did he rain down his arrows." If in 836 Śaka, the date of the grant, it was old men that thus described his wars with the Gûrjara king, those wars must have taken place about twenty-five or thirty years before 836 Śaka. Akâlavarsha, we know from other sources, came to the throne about 797 Śaka.

Kṛishṇarâja had a son of the name of Jagattuṅga who married Lakshmî, the daughter of Raṇavigraha, son of Kokkalla, king of Chedi. The issue of this marriage was Indrarâja, whose other name was Nityavarsha. He is represented to have meditated on the feet of the glorious Akâlavarsha and not on those of his father Jagattuṅga. As this expression is used with reference to the immediate predecessor on the throne of the reigning king, Indra succeeded his grandfather and not his father. And his inference is, as we have seen, confirmed by an express statement in the Wardha grant. Indra residing usually at his capital Mânyakheṭa, had, when he made these two grants, gone to Kurundaka for the festival on account of his Paṭṭabandha, which probably was the coronation festival. On that occasion he weighed himself against gold and gave away twenty lacs and a half of drammas, and granted Kurundaka and other villages, and restored four hundred others, which had been confiscated by previous princes.

The fact that Indra, the reigning sovereign at Mânyakheṭa, grantend villages in the Lâṭa country and not a member of the Lâṭa branch of the Râshṭrakûṭa family which was founded in the time of Govinda III. and of which we have several grants, raises the presumption that that branch had ceased to exist or been put an end to before this time. The earliest grant of that branch, known as the Baroda grant, is dated Śaka 734, and was issued by Karka, the son of Indra, who was the first Lâṭa prince or chief.[1] The second is that known as the Kâvî grant which was issued by Govinda, the son of Karka, and is dated Śaka 749.[2] The third is another Baroda grant, dated Śaka 757, and issued by Dhruvarâja, the son of Karka, the brother of the last Govinda.[3] The fourth is that issued by Dhruva, the grandson of this Dhruvarâja and dated Śaka 789.[4] The fifth is in my possession. It was issued in the same year as the fourth by Dantivarman, the brother of Dhruva. Up to the description of Dhruva it agrees almost word for word with the fourth. The sixth was issued in Śaka 810 by Kṛishṇa or Akâlavarsha, who appears to have been a son of Dantivarman.[5] We have no grant of

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[1] *Bengal Asiatic Society's Jour.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 292-303; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII., p. 162.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 144 and ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV., p. 196 and ff.

[4] *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XII., p. 179 and ff.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII., p. 65 and ff.

a later date of any prince of this family; but the next Gujarat Râshṭrakûṭa grant is that issued by a vassal of Kṛishṇa II. or Akâlavarsha of the main branch or by Kṛishṇa II. himself in Śaka 832.[1] And in the grants before us we have his grandson and successor assigning villages in the same country in the year Śaka 836. It would thus appear that the province of Lâṭa was resumed by the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa after 810 Śaka and before 832, *i. e.*, in the time of Kṛishṇa II. or Akâlavarsha. And this is confirmed by what we find stated in the Wardha plates, where Kṛishṇarâja or Akâlavarsha is represented to have "put an end to the arrogance of the lord of Lâṭa." And from the grants, No. 4 and No. 5, we see that tho Râshṭrakûṭas of Lâṭa were not on terms of peace with their kinsmen of the main branch. One of them, Dhruva, who issued the second Baroda grant of Śaka 757, is represented in those grants to have been killed in a battle with Vallabha, and his son to have recovered his lost kingdom. This Vallabha must have been Amoghavarsha I., the son of Govinda III.

The village Tenna is identified with Tena which is situated in the Navsari district, and Umbarâ may be the modern Bagumbra, with the prefix Bag.

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I., p. 52 and ff.

B.

I.

ॐ स्वस्ति । स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दु कलया कम-

लंकृतम् ॥ जयति विबुधबन्धुर्व्विन्ध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलवि-लोलत्कौस्तुभः कंस[के]

तुः । मुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृत्यंति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्य-त्तारकास्ते कटा-

क्षाः ॥ स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समरसमुद्धृतदुर्द्धरारिचक्रः । अपहृतबलिम-

ण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥ अस्ति श्रीनाथना-भिस्फुरदुरुसरसांभोज-

जन्मा स्वयंभूस्तस्मादत्रिः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्पन्द इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्माद्वंशो यदूना

जगति स ववृधे यत्र तैस्तैर्व्विलासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्गनानां नयन-कुवलयै-

रर्च्यमानश्चचार ॥ तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-नृपतिः

पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शंखचक्र-करलांछ-

नमाजगाम ॥ कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यदेशे स्वैरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्द्य च मध्यदेशं ।

यस्यासमस्य समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः काण्ची(ञ्ची) पदे पदमकारि करेण भूयः ॥ आसेतोः सा-

नुवमभबलकपिकुलोल्लूनफुल्लल्लवङ्गादाकैलासाद्भवानीचलचरणरणा-न्नूपुरो-

न्नादितान्तात् । यस्याज्ञां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलन्मौलिमालाय-मानामानम्रैरु-

त्तमाङ्गैरवनितललुठज्जानवो मानयन्ति ॥ जित्वा जगन्निजभुजेन पुनर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं

विजेतुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः ॥ तत्राभवत्परमधाम्नि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृप-

तिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्रभङ्गलीलायमानघन-
विस्तृतकान्तकी-

II.—First side.

र्त्तैः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिष्णोस्तस्मादभून्निरुपमो निरवद्य-
शौर्य्यः ॥ कीर्त्तिः(र्त्तैः) कु-
न्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विला-
सकमलं पूर्णे-
न्दुबिम्बद्युति । एकं कंपितकोसलेश्वरकरादाछिन्नमन्यत्पुनर्येनोदी-
च्यनराधिपाद्य-
शा इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ तस्माल्लेभे जगत्तुङ्गो जन्म सम्मानिताद्विजः।
सोपि श्रीवल्ल-
भं सूनुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ निमग्नां यश्चलुक्याब्धौ रट्टराज्यश्रियं
पुनः । पृथ्वीमिवोद्धर-
न्धीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ समूलोन्मूलितस्तम्बान्दण्डेनानीतक-
ण्टकः । योदहद्दे(हे)-
षिणश्चण्डचलुक्यांश्चणकानिव ॥ उच्चैश्चलुक्यकुलकन्दलकालकेतो-
स्तस्मादकृ-
ष्णचरितोजनि कृष्णराजः । पीतापि कर्ण्णपुटकैरसकृज्जनेन कीर्त्तिः
परि-
भ्रमति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥ उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नजालजटिलं व्या-
कृष्टमी-
दृग्धनुः क्रुद्धेनोपरि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासा-
रिणि सेन्द्रचापव-
लये यस्येत्थमब्दागमे गर्ज्जद्गूर्ज्जरसंगरव्यतिकरं जीर्ण्णो जनः
शन्स(शंस)ति ॥ अ-
जनि जनितभंगो वैरिवृन्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्तुं-
गदेवः । ध्वजसर-
सिजशंखमोल्लसच्चक्रपाणिर्व्विभवविजितविष्णुर्व्वल्लभो वीरलक्ष्म्याः॥
आसीत्कोप्यथ
हैहयान्वयभवो भूपः सहस्रार्जुनो गर्ज्जद्दुर्ज्जयरावणोर्ज्जितलसद्दो-
र्दण्डकण्डूह-

रः । विश्रान्तैः श्रवणेषु नाकसदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः सान्द्रसुधारसेन लिखि-

तैर्व्याप्ताः ककुभित्तयः ।। वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशोः कोक्कलभूपात्मजो राजा श्री-

II.—Second side.

रणविग्रहस्समभवच्चेदीश्वरः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरन्ध्रिमण्डनमुषः रा(स)र्व्वोपि पृथ्वीप-

तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव मयाति विकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ।। सकलगुणगणाब्धेर्व्विष्फु(स्फु)रद्धाम-

धाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमुदेन्दुः सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्तुङ्गदेवः ।। चतुरुदधितटान्तख्यातशौर्यौथ ताभ्यामभव-

दरिघरट्टो रट्टकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकलजनशरण्यः पु-

ण्यलावण्यराशिः ।। देवो यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रामन्निजविक्रमेण स-

मभूत् श्रीकीर्त्तिनारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं विद्विषां

दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ।। कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं हेलो-

न्मूलितमेरुणा । उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ।। सकलजनम(न)मस्यः

सोथ कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान(न्) । उपरि परशुरामस्यैक-

कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्त्यागकीर्त्या बभूव ।। स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-

परमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासंबध्यमानकान्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्राम-

कूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संवि-
दितं यथा श्रीमान्य-
खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टबन्धोत्सवाय कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया
मातापित्रोरात्म-
नश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्य-
न्दिनसब्रह्मचा-

III.

रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गतश्रीनेमपभट्टसुताय सिद्धपभट्टाय लाटदे-
शान्तर्गतकम्मणिज्ज-
समीपे तेन्ननामग्रामः यस्य पूर्वतो वारडपालिका दक्षिणतो नाम्भी-
तटाकं पश्चिमतो वली-
शा उत्तरतो वथियणग्रामः एवमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितस्सोद्रंगः
सपरिकरः सदण्ड-
दशापराधः सोत्पद्यमानाविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्य[दे]योभ्यन्तरसि-
द्धया शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सर-
शतेष्वष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने
श्रीपट्टबन्धोत्स-
वे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामान-
न्यान्यपि पूर्वपृथ्वीपालवि-
लुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रम्मलक्षैस्सार्द्धैः सह विमुच्य
बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्नि-
होत्रातिथिसंतर्प्पणार्थमद्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदाय-
स्थित्या
भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केन-
चिदल्पापि परि-
पन्थना कार्या तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं
भूमिदानफल-
मवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विसे(शे)षोयमस्मद्ब्रह्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः यश्चाज्ञाना-
लोपयति स पंचभिर्म्महा-
पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छे-

त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ अग्नेरपत्यं प[प्र]थमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गा-
वः लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥ सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां
कालेकाले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥
श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य सूनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्तेय-मिन्द्रराजांघ्रिसेविना ॥ श्रीः

A.

I.

स्वस्ति । स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतम् ॥ जयति
विबुधबन्धुर्व्विध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविलोलत्कौस्तुभः कंसकेतुः । मुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृ-
त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समर-
समुद्धृतदुर्धरारिचक्रः । अपहृतबलिमण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥
अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभिस्फुरदुरुसरसाम्भोजजन्मा स्वयंभू । स्तस्मादत्रिः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्प-
न्द इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्माद्वंशो यदूनां जगति स ववृधे यस्य तैस्तै-र्व्विलासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्गनानान्न(नां न)
यनकुवलयैरर्च्यमानश्चचार ॥ तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग्गनृप-
तिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्ये शंखचक्रकरलाञ्छन-
माजगाम ॥ कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारि जघन्यभागे स्वैरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्द्य च मध्यदे-
शं । यस्यासमस्य [स]मरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः कांचीपदे पदमकारि करेण भूयः ॥ आसेतोः सानुब-
प्रमबलकपि[कुलो]ल्लूनफुल्लल्वङ्गादाकैलासाद्भवानीचलच[र]ण-रणन्नूपुरोन्नादितान्तात् ।

यस्याज्ञां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलन्मौलिमालायमानामानम्रैरुत्त-
माङ्गैरवनितलल्लुठज्जा-
नवो मानयन्ति ॥ जित्वा जगन्निजभुजेन पुनर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं विजेतु-
मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तत्रा-
भवत्परमधाम्नि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः प्रथितप्रतापः ।
दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र-
भंगलीलायमानघनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्त्तिः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलं-
करिष्णोस्तस्मादभू-
न्निरुपमो निरवद्यशौर्य्यः ॥ कीर्त्तिः कुन्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थान-
कुंभः सितो लक्ष्म्याः

II.—first side.

लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णेन्दुबिम्बद्युति । एकं कंपित-
कोसलेश्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु-
नर्येनोदीच्यनराधिपाद्यश इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ तस्माल्लेभे जगत्तुंगो
जन्म सम्मानि-
ताद्विजः । सोपि श्रीवल्लभं सूनुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ निमग्नां यश्च-
लुक्याब्धौ रट्टराज्यश्रि-
यं पुनः । पृथ्वीमिवोद्धरन्धीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ समूलोन्मूलि-
तस्तम्बान्दण्डेनानी-
तकण्टकः । योदहद्दे(द्द)षिणश्चण्डचलुक्यांश्चणकानिव ॥ उच्चैश्च-
लुक्यकुलकन्दलकालके-
तोस्तस्मादकृष्णचरितोजनि कृष्णराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैरसकृ-
ज्जनेन कीर्त्तिः परिभ्र-
मति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥ उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नजालजटिलं व्याकृष्टमी-
दृग्धनुः । क्रुद्धेनोप-
रि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि सेन्द्रचाप-
वलये यस्ये-
त्थमब्दागमे गर्ज्जद्गुर्ज्जरसङ्गरव्यतिकरं जीर्णो जनः शन्स(शंस)
ति॥ अजनि जनि-
तभङ्गो वैरिवृन्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्तुंगदेवः । ध्वज-
सरसि-

जशंखमोलसच्चक्रपाणिर्व्विभवविजितविष्णुर्व्वल्लभो वीरलक्ष्म्याः ॥ आसीत्कोप्य-

थ हैहयान्वयभवो भूपः सहस्रार्जुनो गर्ज्जद्दुर्ज्जयरावणोर्ज्जितलसद्दोर्दण्डकण्डू-

हरः । विश्रान्तेः श्रवणेषु नाकसदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः सान्द्रसुधारसेन लि-

खितैर्व्यामाः ककुब्भित्तयः ॥ वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशोः कोक्कल-भूपात्मजो राजा श्रीर-

णविग्रहः समभवच्चेदीश्वरः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरंध्रिमण्डनमुषः सर्व्वोपि पृथ्वीप-

तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ सकलगुणगणाब्धेर्व्विष्फु(स्फु)रद्धा-

मधाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमुदेन्दुः सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

II.—Second side.

हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्तुंगदेवः ॥ चतुरुदधितटान्तख्यातशौर्योथ ताभ्यामभवदरि-

घरट्टो रट्टकन्दर्प्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकलजनशरण्यः पु-

ण्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ मदनममृतबिन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च बिम्बं नवनलिनमृणालं चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां

च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्ज्जन्मनिर्माणशेषैरणुभिरिव चकार स्पष्टमानन्दि वेधाः ॥ देवो

यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रामन्निजविक्रमेण समभूत् श्रीकीर्तिनारा-

यणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं विद्विषां दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भ-

यं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा । उपेन्द्र-

मिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ सकलजननमस्यः सोथ कृत्वा नमस्या-

न्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान् । उपरि परशुरामस्यैककुग्रामदान-

स्फुरितगुणगारिम्णस्त्यागकीर्त्या बभूव । स च परमभट्टारकम-

हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-
रश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
श्वर-
श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासंबध्य-
मानान् राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्त-
रादी-
न्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्यखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीप-
ट्टबन्धाय कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिक-
पुण्य-

III.

यशोभिवृद्धये । लक्ष्मणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिणे राणपभट्टसुताय
प्रभाकरभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गतकम्मणिज्जसमीपे उम्बरा नाम ग्रामः यस्य पू-
र्व्वतः तोलजकं दक्षिणतो मोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकीग्राम उत्तरतो जवलकूपकमे-
वमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितः सोद्रंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः सोत्पद्यमान-
विष्टिकः सधान्याहिरण्यदेयोभ्यन्तरसिद्धया पूर्व्वदेवब्रह्मदायरहितः शकनृपकाला-
तीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्ध-सप्तम्यां संपन्ने
श्रीपट्टबन्धोत्सवे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादी-न्ग्रामान्
अन्यान्यपि पूर्व्वपृथ्वीपालविलुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशति-द्रम्मलक्षैस्सा-
र्द्धैः सह विप्रेभ्यो विमुच्य बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिसंतर्प्पणा-र्थमा(म)-
य्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायास्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतः
कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि परिपंथना कार्या तथागामिभिरस्म-

द्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयम-
स्मद्ब्रह्मदायोनुमन्त-
व्यः यश्चाज्ञानाल्लोपयाति स पंचभिर्महापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं
च भगवता व्यासेन ॥
षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च
तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ सा-
मान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वाने-
तान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य
सूनुना । कृता प्रशस्तेयं श्रीः

TRANSLATION.

B.

May he (Vishṇu) protect you, the lotus springing from whose navel was made his abode by Brahman, and [may] Hara too [do the same] whose head is adorned by the beautiful crescent of the moon. Victorious is he who has Kaṁsa for his banner (*i.e.*, noted for his destruction of Kaṁsa) [Kṛishṇa], the friend of the gods, on whose chest, broad as the Vindhya [mountain], dangles the pure Kaustubha, and on whose lotus-like face, the stage, dance the sidelong glances of Lakshmî with the pupils dulled from the weight of love. Ever victorious is the Upendra-like Indrarâjadeva, the *nṛisiṁha* (the lion among men; Vishṇu in one of his incarnations), in whose strong arms rests Lakshmî, who has rooted out in battles the circle of enemies difficult to withstand, and who has done away with the *balimaṇḍala* (the array of the mighty; Bali and his circle). The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the expansive fresh lotus springing from the navel of the lord of Lakshmî. Of him was born the son Atri, and of Atri again [was born] the moon, who sends forth nectared rays, and out of him grew on the earth the dynasty of the Yadus, in which [at one time] moved Kṛishṇa who was worshipped by the cowherds' wives with the lotuses, their eyes, accompanied with various blandishments. To that family belonged the *Purushottama* (the best of men; Vishnu), King Dantidurga, born in the wide Sâtyaki branch, to whom of herself came Lakshmî from the ocean of the Châlukya family, marked as his hands were with a conch and a disc (two of the things by the possession of which Vishṇu is marked; auspicious marks on the palms of the hands resembling these objects).

whose hand, matchless in battle that he was, having first established itself on the beautiful *jaghanyadeśa* (the region of the hips; lowermost country) of his wife, the earth, and again pressed down tenderly at its will the *madhyadeśa* (waist; the country between the Himâlaya and Vindhya Mountains), again established itself on the *kâñchîpada* (the region below the waist where the girdle is worn; province of Kâñchî); whose orders all the kings obeyed with bowed heads and with knees bent to the ground, from the Setu (bridge), the blossoming *lavaṅga* trees on the grounds on the summit of which are deflowered by hosts of big monkeys, up to Kailâsa, the regions of which are noisy from the sounding *nûpuras* on the moving feet of Bhavânî, the orders forming the wreath on their heads with which come in contact their joined hands. When the king, after having conquered the world by means of his arm, had gone to heaven, as if to conquer it, being desirous for a fresh victory, his paternal uncle, king Krishṇarâja, of well-known prowess, filled his refulgent throne. Of him, whose thick, wide and brilliant fame looked on the faces of the quarters, the women, like sandal-wood decorations, and who adorned the mountain, the family of the Râshṭrakûṭas, was born Nirupama of spotless valour, who in battle snatched away from the hand of the trembling lord of the Kosalas one white umbrella (of royalty), which was glory itself as it were; which was the white auspicious pot for the starting of his fame, white as the kunda flower, on a journey to all the worlds; which was the sporting lotus in the hands of Lakshmî, and had the beauty of the full-moon; and another from a king of the Northern People. Of him had birth Jagattuṅga, who honoured the Brahmans, and he in his turn had for his son Śrîvallabha, the king of kings, who, the wise one, while raising again the glory of the Raṭṭa kingdom, which had been drowned in the Chalukya ocean, appeared like Vîranârâyaṇa raising the earth; who parched up (or fried) like gram his enemies, the fiery Chalukyas, having plucked out their stalks from the roots and having threshed out by means of *daṇḍa* (a stick; punishment) the *kaṇṭakas* (thorny substance; obnoxious persons). Of him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain-tree, the high family of the Chalukyas, was born Kṛishṇarâja of unspotted life, whose fame, white as the moon, ranges over the world, though constantly drunk by people by means of the cavities of their ears; the occurrence of whose

thundering fights with the Gûrjjara old men describe on the arrival of the rainy season of heavy showers and rainbows by saying, "Thus did he in anger draw his bow, which was covered over with a network of jewels darting forth rays, thus did he rain down his arrows on the heads of his warrior enemies." Of him was born Jagattuṅgadeva, who broke up the host of his enemies, who brought low the beauty of Madana, who has on (the palm of) his hand a discus shining in the midst of a banner, a lotus and a conch, who by his greatness surpassed Vishṇu, and who was the beloved of the soldierly Lakshmî. There was a king (by name) Sahasrârjuna, born in the Haihaya family, who quieted the itching of the powerful and throbbing arms of the thundering and unconquerable Râvaṇa, and by writing with thick nectar the letters setting forth whose name and fame, which found a resting-place in the ears of the gods, the walls in the shape of the quarters were filled up by the Siddhas. In the family of him, who was a hatchet to the families of his enemies, there was the famous king Śrîraṇavigraha, the son of king Kokkalla and lord of Chedi, into the *maṇḍala* (the circle of feudatory princes) of whom, thief as he was of the decorations of his enemies' wives, entered every *vikala* (ruined) lord of the earth on the occurrence of his *pakshakshaya* (ruin of his followers) as the *vikala* (waned) moon enters the *maṇḍala* (disc) of the sun on the occasion of his *pakshakshaya* (the end of the [bright] fortnight). He, who was an ocean of the whole collection of virtues and was the dwelling place of brilliant lustre, had a daughter, Lakshmî, who was *kalitakamalapâṇi* (having lotus-like hands; having a lotus in her hands). Jagattuṅgadeva, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race and the ravisher of the hearts of women, married her like Hari himself. From them sprang Raṭṭakandarpadeva (the lord, who was the cupid of the family of the Raṭṭas), whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was the grinding-stone to his enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, and who was a refuge to all men and a store of heavenly beauty; the lord, who overrunning by his valour the earth beautified by its girdle, the four oceans, became Vîranârâyaṇa, and on hearing of whose birth the beauty of the faces of his distressed enemies came by pallour, their minds by fear, and their heads by their joined hands (indicative) of servitude, all at the same time; who, the Indrarâja, rooting out Meru with ease, was not surprised at his (thus) surpassing Upendra

(Vishṇu) who lifted Govardhana. Worthy of the homage of all men, the lord of the world by making numerous grants to gods and Brahmans, which were to be respected (by all), surpassed by the fame of his charity Paraśurâma, who owed the (fame of the) greatness of his virtues (charity) to his gift of one wretched village. That lord of the kings of men, the glorious Nityavarsha, the highest lord, the king of great kings, the highest ruler, meditating on the feet of the glorious Akâlavarsha, the highest lord, the king of great kings and the highest ruler, commands, being in the enjoyment of good health, all governors of districts and subdivisions, the heads of villages, the employés and holders of offices, great men, &c., so far as they are concerned with these orders: Be it known to you that I, who live in my capital Mânyakheṭa, and have come at present to Kurundaka for the festive occasion of my coronation (?), have, on the completion of the coronation ceremony, after weighing myself against gold and without coming down from the pan, given away, together with 20 lakhs and a half of *drammas*, Kurundaka and other villages and 400 villages besides confiscated by previous kings, given away by pouring water, for the enhancement of the religious merits and fame in this world and the next of my parents and myself, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Phâlguna, in the year Yuvan, when 836 years have passed after the time of the Śaka king, the village called Tenna, in the vicinity of Kammanijja, in the country of Lâṭa, to Siddhapabhaṭṭa, the son of Vennapabhaṭṭa and inhabitant of Pâṭaliputra, a student of the Vâjasaneyi Mâdhyaṁdina Śâkhâ, of the gotra of Lakshmaṇa; to the east of which (village) lies Vâraḍapallikâ, to the south the lake Nâmbhî, to the west Valîśâ, and to the north the village of Vathiyaṇa, that he might by its means perform the rites of Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra and hospitality—this village which is thus marked off by these four boundaries, with whatever stands on the land, and with appurtenances, with the flaws in the measurement and the mishaps, with whatever might be raised on the land by labour, and the revenue in grain and gold. Therefore, no one should in the slightest degree obstruct him while enjoying and allowing others to enjoy this in the manner of a Brahman-gift, while cultivating or allowing others to cultivate it or conveying it to anybody else. In the same manner the good kings of the future, whether of my family or of any other, bearing in mind that the fruit of the gift of land is common (to all kings), should respect this gift of mine exactly

as they would their own. He, who through ignorance takes it away, incurs the five great sins. Indeed, the blessed Vyâsa says: "The grantor of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years; while he who resumes it, or approves of its being so resumed, dwells in hell for as many years. Gold is the first child of Agni (fire), land is Vishnu's, and cows are the daughters of the sun; he, who gives gold, a cow and land, makes a gift of the three worlds." "This bridge of religious merits (*viz.*, making gifts of land) common to kings should at all times be respected by you," so prays Râmabhadra again and again to all the great kings of the future. This praiseworthy charter was composed by Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nemâditya, the servant of the feet of Indrarâja.

A.

Portions additional to, or differing from, B.

II. b. l. 3-4. मदनममृत° With the insignificant remnants of the materials of whose creation did Brahmâ verily create other delightful things, *viz.*, Madana, the disc of the moon dropping drops of nectar, the young lotus stalk, sandalwood and moonlight.

II. b. l. 12. श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभ. The beloved one of the earth and of Lakshmî.

III. b. l. 1-3. लक्ष्मणगोत्राय, &c. The village called Umbarâ in the vicinity of Kammaṇijja, in the country of Lâṭa, to Prabhâkarabhaṭṭa, the son of Râṇapabhaṭṭa and a student of the Vâjasaneyi Mâdhyaṁdina Sâkhâ, of the gotra of Lakshmana; to the east of which (village) lies Tolajaka, to the south Mogalikâ, to the west the village of Saṁkî, and to the north the Javala well.

III. l. 5. पूर्वदेवब्रह्मदायरहितः excluding the previous gifts to gods and Brâhmans.

A. om. लोकभयं—स्यात्.

A. om. शास्ता and इन्द्रराजांघ्रिसेविना.

III.

A Copper-plate grant from the Belgaum District.

The next set of three copper-plates, a transcript and translation of which I place before the Society, was put into my hands to be used for historical purposes by my friend, Mr. D. R. Natu, LL.B., who is a pleader in the District Court at Belgaum. It was in the possession of the Desai of Kokahnur, a large village about 12 miles to the south-east of Athni, which is a taluka station in the Belgaum District.

Each of the plates is 12½ inches in length and about 9 inches in breadth. The lines are engraved breadth-wise; and we have the inscription on one side of the first plate, both sides of the second, and one side of the third. The seal has the figure of a bull. The nasals in the body of a word are uniformly marked by an anusvâra, as we do at the present day, and ৰ always appears in the form of ব. The Sanskrit of the grant is excellent, including the prose portions, and the poetry is full of very extravagant conceits which mark a further progress in the degeneration of taste. The name of the composer was Âdityadeva, pupil of Śrîpâda, who calls himself "the paramount sovereign of the three worlds in matters of learning."

The inscription records the grant of land measuring four [1] Nivartanas to each of fourteen Brahmans, and a rice-field measuring one Nivartana and a flower-garden of an equal area to the god Someśvara for purposes of daily worship in the village of Baṭṭachi in the Kaṇaṁvaḍe country by Soma, the son of Vijjaṇa of the Kalachuri dynasty of Kalyâṇa. The grant was made on Thursday, the 12th of the bright half of Kârttika, in the year 1096 of the Śaka era, corresponding to 1174 A.D., the cyclic year being Jaya. Here I find, instead of the usual expression, "years elapsed since the time of the Śaka king" or "the era of the Śaka king," occurring in the earlier grants, simply "in Śaka 1096," which shows that the word Śaka had about the end of the eleventh century of that era lost its original signification of "a particular race of foreigners" and come to signify an era generally.

"The Kalachuri family is," it is stated, "famous in the three worlds as a mine of Kshatriya jewels." That it was one of the leading royal families of the Middle Ages is undoubted. The kings of Chedi, with whom the later Râshṭrakûṭa princes of the Dekkan were connected by marriage, belonged to it. Their capital was Tripura, the modern Tevur, near Jabalpur, and they held a strong fortress named Kâlañjara. The branch to which Soma belonged appears to have been very unimportant. The first person mentioned in the grant before us is Kṛishṇa. He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and he by his son Paramardin. Parmardin's son was Vijjaṇa who raised the family to importance. All these chiefs must have been dependents of the

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[1] Nivartana is defined as equal to 80 daṇḍas or poles. But a pole is taken to be equal to 10 cubits or 7 cubits. The daṇḍa in this grant is called Mâḍadaṇḍa, and probably had its own measure.

Châlukyas of Kalyâṇa. Vijjaṇa had attained to the position of Daṇḍanâyaka or Minister of War under Tailapa II., and while he held that office he rebelled against his master and assumed supreme sovereignty. He is represented in the grant before us to have fought with the Pâṇḍya, the Chola, the Vaṅga, and the Mâlava. Vijjaṇa was succeeded by his son Soma, upon whom the grant bestows the most extravagant and bombastic praise, making him out to be a paragon of all human and soldierly virtues, and as the wisest and most powerful sovereign. But herein we see the anxiety of the composer to show off his own "paramount sovereignty in the domain of learning," to which he laid a claim, and to please the reigning monarch, and not his desire to pourtray the truth. And there is not a single particular fact mentioned in the whole passage. But from every indication it appears that the Kalachuri princes of Kalyâṇa were never able to consolidate their power; they had not succeeded even in completely dispossessing their masters who still held sway over a part of the country; and the dynasty after a troublous and precarious existence for about 25 years became extinct.

There is a village of the name of Baḍachi, in the vicinity of Athṇî, about four miles to the north-west of Kokahnur, which in all likelihood is the Baṭṭachi of our grant. About 24 miles to the north-west of Athṇî is a village of the name of Kaṇavaḍi, with a population of nearly 3,000 persons, which closely corresponds to the Kaṇaṁvaḍe of our grant, and possessed probably in those days sufficient importance to give its name to the country or province.[1]

A grant, dated 1105 Śaka, by another or the last prince of this dynasty, Siṅghaṇadeva, the brother of our Soma, was brought to notice by Dr. Fleet in 1875, and published in the *Indian Antiquary*. The composer of it is the same person as that of ours. The first verse in it does not occur in the present grant; but the next eleven stanzas are exactly the same and occupy the whole of our first plate. Then omitting a further eulogy of Soma, which fills the first side of our second plate, the writer proceeds to his next brother who succeeded him. This grant was, it will be seen, issued 9 years after ours.

There is one remarkable circumstance concerning the grant before us which deserves notice. It was at the instance of a woman that king Soma made the grant. In the audience-hall, where were

[1] All this local information I owe to Mr. Natu.

assembled eminent and influential men of his and of other kingdoms, and persons proficient in the arts of music and dancing and men of taste were gathered together, and instrumental music was going on, she sang a beautiful song in a most skilful manner and obtained from the king, who was very much pleased, as a reward, his consent to give the land in charity, and granted it herself on the occasion; but afterwards got the king to do so more formally in the usual manner. She is represented to have been dearer to the king than his own life. If so, the question is whether she was his mistress or a married queen. In the first place, the title Devî is affixed to her name and she is called Sâvaladevî. This title cannot be given to a mistress. In a Śloka quoted in the Kâvyaprakâśá, we have: "Now that she (a certain woman) has been raised to the dignity of a Devî, how can she remain in the position of, *i. e.*, be used as, an attendant." Similarly, in the play of Mâlavikâgnimitra, when the chief queen Dhâriṇî is going to give Mâlavikâ in marriage to the king, the Vidûshaka on behalf of the latter requests Dhâriṇî to confer on her the title of Devî before she could be accepted, and it is given to her in all formality. The title Devî, therefore, is applied to queens only. Again, Sâvaladevî was, according to the grant, Tilottamâ herself in beauty, the very Sarasvatî in singing, and Pârvatî in *Saubhâgya*. *Saubhâgya* is a word peculiarly used in the case of a woman, and signifies her good fortune in having her husband living and enjoying his kind regards. At the same time, being compared with Pârvatî in this respect, Sâvaladevî must have been a married queen, since Pârvatî was the married wife of Śiva. We are also told that "Sâvaladevî's father was Mailugi, and her mother Malhaṇî; and in consequence of the virtuous deeds of these two meritorious persons, such a jewel as Sâvaladevî was born. Her sister was one Bâvaladevî, the store of beauty and grace, and possessed of skill in the arts of singing and dancing. Her brother was Bhairava by name, who had exercised himself on the musical instruments, especially on the Brahmavîṇâ, and was skilled in beating time." Now, if Sâvaladevî had been a mistress, all these her relations would not have been brought in to share her disgrace. And persons in that position are generally illegitimate children; wherefore we should not expect a mention of the father's name in such cases. Besides, the whole matter about her asking the king's consent to give land in charity only as a reward, and making him grant it formally after she had herself done so first, points to her position as a wife. There is, therefore, no

doubt that Sâvaladevî was a married queen of Soma; and, if so, we have evidence here that in the last quarter of the twelfth century of the Christian era, music and dancing formed a part of the education of Kshatriya girls, and that a married Kshatriya woman could be present at an assembly of eminent men and sing before them without impropriety. The strict purdah system, which the Maratha princes and chiefs observe at the present day, and which even the most highly educated among them have not the courage to give up, did not exist in those days.

1.

ॐ स्वस्ति ।निर्विघ्नं पातु विश्वस्य गोप्ता स धरणीधरः ।
धर्मद्रुहां दमयिता देवस्त्यागचतुर्भुजः । अस्ति क्ष-
त्रियरत्नानामाकरः सागरायते ।। कुलं कलचु-
र्यित्याख्यं विख्यातं भुवनत्रये ।तदन्ववाये राजाभूत्कृष्णः कृ-
ष्ण इवापरः ।अपि बालस्य चरितमद्भुतं यस्य गीयते । स जोगम-
महीपालं कालं वैरिमहीभुजां । वीरैकवन्द्यमहसां पात्रं पुत्रमजी-
जनत् ।दाक्षिण्यजलधेस्तस्मात्क्षीरोदादिव चन्द्रमाः । अजायत
जगत्कांतः परमर्द्दिमहीपतिः । तस्मान्मेरोरिवाशेषव्यापि-
नां तेजसां निधिः ।उदितः सुभटादित्यो विज्जणः पृथिवीपतिः ।।
स च । आचक्राम न कां दिशं न बुभुजे कं देशमुन्मूलयांचक्रे कं
त्र (न) रिपुं बभार न रिपूनप्याश्रितान्कानिह संचिक्ये न धनानि कानि
न ददौ किं दानमीजे मखैः कैर्नायं गुणरत्नरोहणगिरिः श्री-
विज्जणक्ष्मापतिः । चांड्यं पांड्यस्त्यजति भजते चोलभूपश्चलत्वं
भंगं वंगः स्मरति भरते मालवः कालशंकां । भूपाश्चान्ये जे(ज?)यति
जगतीं विज्जणक्षोणिपाले किन्नो (किं नो) दुर्गं जहति जिहते कां दि-
शं कांदिशीकाः । सर्व्वाशातिमिरं नुदन्मुकुलयन्सर्वद्विषद्भूभुजां ह-
स्तांभोजततीर्जगद्धवलयन्सर्व्वं स्वकीर्त्योजसा सर्व्वोर्व्वीधरमूर्द्धपी-
ठनिहितश्रीपादरम्योदयो राजा सोम उदैत्कलानिधिरितः पू-
र्णस्फुरन्मंडलः । वार्ता कैवरणोच्छ(त्स)वेषु निनदद्भेरीरवे भैरवे
दृश्येषु दूषणाहतेरपि कृतैस्तैः कालकोलाहलः यद्यात्रा-

सु विदुद्रुवुर्न्ने रिपवः के देशकोशात्यजः केषां वा न विदीर्य्य-
ते स्म हृदयं मूर्छानिमीलदृ(दृ)शां । हेलाहेषितनादभारभरिता
दीर्ण्णा यदष्टौ दिशो धूताश्वाश्वखुराहतैः परिचलत्कीला
यदष्टौ नगाः । तत्तादृग्रिपुराजवीजदहनप्रस्थानवेलास्थि-
तिं जानीते यदि शेष एष सुकृती भूभारसर्वंसहः । यत्र पितरी-
व पातरि यम इव यंतरि जनो हि दंडधरे लोकद्वयोचितानां सौ-

II.—First side.

ख्यानां पारदृश्वाभूत्ः (।) यस्योदग्रपराक्रमस्य सत-
तं दिग्जैत्रयात्रोत्सवे स्वःसिंधोस्तटिनीति नाम घ-
टयत्यन्वर्थमेतद्रजः । त्वंगत्तुंगतुरंगनिष्ठुरखुरप्रक्षे-
पविक्षोभितक्षोणीपीठहठप्ररूढमचिरात्ताम्यत्खरांशुद्यु-
ति । यस्य च अप्रतिमसाहसस्य । भूभृन्मूर्द्धसु लीनवत्यसिलता-
धाराधरे दुर्द्धरे धारासारपुरःसरं विगलिताः कीलालकूलं-
कषाः । तासु द्वेपकरोटिनीभिरसुहृन्न(चु)टयद्दुजारित्रकैर्भ्राम्य-
न्नेष मदांधभूतनिवहो नाद्यापि विश्राम्यति । यस्योदारगु-
णोन्नतस्य जरयत्याकाशगंगामदं हर्षं मोच्छति देवदंति-
दशनच्छायाकदंबोद्गतेः । कैलासस्य श्रियं पिपर्ति जन-
यत्यातंकमिंदोरपि क्षीराब्धेरपि कौतुकं वितनुते नित्या-
वदातं यशः । संन्ना(ना)हेान्नतवीरवेषसुभगं दृष्ट्वैव यस्याद्भुतं रू-
पं तादृगवक्रविक्रमनिधेराराद्मी विद्विषः । रोमांचादिभि-
रामुवंति दशमीं भावैरवस्थामितः स्त्रीवत्तत्कतमो न वेद त-
दिदं लोकोत्तरं पौरुषं । व्याप्तिं दोर्व्बलसार्वभौमयशसः
किं ब्रूमहे यन्महेशानोपि स्वयमीश्वरो नहि तनूरष्टौ विवेक्तुं
निजाः । लोकाः किं च हसंति संप्रति परे चाद्रं मदोत्सेकतः क्षी-
रोदेन समं च किं च कलहायन्ते षडप्यब्धयः । यस्यासिधारां धा-
रां च वीरे वितरणेथ वा । कृतकृत्या न के जाताः प्राप्य प्रत्यर्थिनो-
र्थिनः । गगनादपि निःसंगमुदधेरपि दुर्गमं । यत्साहसमनौप-
म्याद्दृष्टवंत उदासते । यशःप्रशस्तयो यस्य याः सतां चित्तभि-
त्तिषु । न मांति मांति ताः कुत्र दिक्षु वा गगनेथवा । इमं तमिति
किं ब्रूमः सर्वमाक्रामति स्म यः । निधिः स तेजसां देवः कं देशं

नाश्नुते करैः । वर्त्तमानेषु का वार्ता यस्मिन्विश्वस्य गोचरि । ता-
दृशः क्षत्रियो लोके न जातो न जनिष्यते । तस्य गीतकला-

II.—Second side.

प्रौढिचमत्कारहृतात्मनः । राज्ञः सावल-
देवीति प्राणेभ्योपि प्रियाभवत् । गंगाप्रवाह-
वद्यस्याः शारीरामृतमुज्व(ज्ज्व)लं त्रिमार्गशुद्धमाह्लादि सर्व्व-
पापक्षयावहं । रूपे तिलोत्तमा सैव सैव गीते सरस्वती ।
सौभाग्ये पार्वती सैव त्यागे कल्पलता स्वयं । यत्पिता मै-
लुगिर्नाम यन्माता मल्हणीत्यभूत् । तयोर्गुणवतोः पुण्यै-
रीदृग्रत्नमजायत । यस्या वाच(व?)लदेवीति रूपसौभाग्ययो-
र्निधिः । भगिनी गीतनृत्यादिकलाकौशलशालिनी । यज्ज्ञा-
ता भैरवो नाम यंत्रे गात्रे कृतश्रमः । विशेषाद्ब्रह्मवीणायां
तालमानविचक्षणः । सा कदाचिदतिप्रौढगायनगाय-
नी वांशिकवैणिकमार्दंलिकपाणविकादिगांधर्वसं-
प्रदायनिर्भरे महाप्रस्थाने भरतादिकलाकुशलेषु भावकर-
सिकरंजकेषु स्वमंडलपरमंडलप्रधानवु(पु)रुषेषूपविष्टेषु आ-
हितस्थानप्रापितारमंद्रव्यवस्थस्य प्रकटितस्फुरितकंपिता-
दिसप्तविधगमकस्य स्फुटललितकोमलपदस्यासंकेति-
तनियुक्तस्य गाणगलपाशाभिधानस्य प्रोच्च(व्व?)ड(ढ?)स्य गानास्य-
रितुष्टस्य नलनहुषभरतभगीरथप्रभृतीनपि पुराणपुण्य-
क्षत्रियान्वीरवितरणादिभिर्गुणैः प्रगुणैरतिशयानस्य म-
हाराजस्य पारितोषिकलब्धया परस(म)यानुमत्या प्रशस्ते दे-
शे काले स्वयं दत्तमपि षण्णवत्यधिकसहस्रतमे शके ज-
यसंवत्सरे कार्त्तिकशुक्लद्वादश्यां बृहस्पतिवाररेवती-
नक्षत्रव्यतीपातयोगववकरणयुक्तायां सर्वविद्या-
निधिभ्यः सदाचारपरिपूतेभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यश्चतुर्द-
शब्राह्मणेभ्यः कर्णवडेदेशांतर्गतवट्टचिनामधेये

III.

ग्रामे माडदंडेन चत्वारि चत्वारि निवर्तनानि
देवदेवाय च श्रीसोमनाथाय नित्यपूजानिमित्तं

निवर्तनमेकं कलमक्षेत्रं तावतीं च पुष्पवाटिका
राज्ञा राजकीयैरप्यनंगुलिप्रेक्षणीयं(प्रक्षेपणीयं) सर्व्वनमस्यं कृत्वा
तेनैव महाराजाधिराजेन परमभक्तिश्रद्धापूतमनसा पुन-
र्धारापूर्वकं दापितवती । अस्य च धर्म्मस्य रक्षणे फलमिति
ह स्माहुः प्राचस्तपोमहिमसाक्षात्कृतधर्म्मगतयो महर्ष-
यः । वहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । धनं धान्यं हिरण्यं च रत्नानि
विविधानि च । दानान्यन्यानि राजेंद्र ददाति वसुधां ददत् । अ-
ग्निष्टोमादिभिर्यज्ञैर्ये यजंति सदक्षिणैः । प्राप्नुवंति न
तत्पुण्यं भूमिदानाद्यदाप्यते । विपर्यये च त एव विपरीत-
फलमाम्नासिषुः । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां षष्टिं
र्व्व(व)र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः । परदत्तां तु यो भू-
मिमुपहिंसेत्कदाचन । स वद्धो वारुणैः पासैः(शैः)क्षिप्यते पूयशोणिते ।
अत एव च तत्र भवद्भिर्व्या(व्यो)सपरास (श)रप्रभृतिभिः साक्षात्कृतस-
कलधर्म्मतत्वैस्त्रैकाल्यदर्शिभिः महर्षिभिः प्रणीतासु सतीष्वपि
स्मृतिषु साक्षादेव श्रुतिषु चोच्चावचासु धर्म्मोपदेशाय जागरू-
कासु पुनरपरितोषानि(नि)जसदाचारोदाहरणदर्शनेन सर्वासाम-
प्यमूषां मानुषीणां प्रजानामवोधाधतमसापनिनीषया लोकस्य
भाग्येनावतीर्ण्णः स्वयमेव भगवान्नारायणः श्रीरामनामधेयः
स्वनिर्मितस्यापि धर्म्मस्य कालांतरेऽन्यथाभावशंकातंकतरलितो
विनयोदारमधुरया संक्षिप्तसुभगया सरस्वत्या भविष्यतः क्षत्रियश्रो-
त्रियान्साञ्जलिवंधमेवमभ्यर्थयांचक्रे ॥ सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपा-
णां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान्भू-
योभूयो याचते रामचं(चं)द्रः । शक्तिव्युत्पत्तिसंपन्न(न्न)विद्वच्छ्रीपादसे-
विना । रचितादि-
त्यदेवेन सेयं शासनपद्धतिः । कृतिरियं त्रिभुवन । व(वि)द्याचक्रवर्त्तिनः श्रीम-
दादित्यदेवस्यः । मंगलमहाश्री ॥

Welfare! May the God, the protector of the Universe, the support of the earth, and the chastiser of the enemies of virtue, who has four hands for giving, protect safely! There is a family known by

the name of Kalachuri, famous in the three worlds, which is as it were the ocean being a repository of jewels in the shape of [excellent] Kshatriyas. In that race flourished a king [named] Kṛishṇa, who was as it were another Kṛishṇa, and whose wonderful deeds, done when he was but a child, are sung. He gave birth to a son, king Jogama, who was death to inimical princes, [and] the receptacle of prowess which is admired by heroes alone. From him who was the ocean of civility, was born king Paramarddi[n], charming to the world, as the moon is from the ocean of milk. From him, as from the Meru, rose king Vijjaṇa, the sun in the shape of a good soldier and (like the sun) the store of glory which pervaded everything. What quarter did king Vijjaṇa, the mountain on which jewels in the shape of virtues grew, not overrun? What country did he not enjoy (rule over), what enemy did he not extirpate? What enemies who had sought an asylum with him did he not protect? What kind of wealth did he not accumulate? What gift did he not give, what sacrifices did he not perform? When king Vijjaṇa was conquering the world, the Pâṇḍya gave up his fierceness, the Chola king took to his heels, the Vaṅga fled away, the Mâlava suspected him to be Death himself; and what stronghold did other kings not leave, and what quarter did the cowards not fly to? From him rose king Soma the moon, in the full state of a Sovereign like the latter when full and bright, who was the abode of all arts as the latter is of the digits, dispelling the darkness of all quarters, closing [folding] the lotuses in the shape of the hands of all inimical princes, whitening the whole world by the lustre of his fame, with his rise made charming on account of his graceful feet being placed on the stool-like heads of all kings, as that of the moon is rendered charming by the rays falling on the tops of all mountains.[1] What enemies did not bolt away, abandoning their country and treasure during his marches, by the noises like those on the occasion of universal destruction, made by the striking of maces in his tents? Whose hearts did not break (through fear) with their eyes closed in a swoon? What talk then can there be as regards the dreadful noise of the drums in the festivals of fight? The blessed Śesha alone, who bears the whole burden of the earth, knows, if at all, the condition of things on the occasion of those marches of his for burning the very seed of kings who were his enemies, when the

[1] सोम, कलाधर and the rest have two senses, one fitting with the moon and the other with king Soma.

eight quarters resonant with the noise of the playful neighing of the horses were shattered, and the eight mountains were dislocated from their rivets by the tramping of the hoofs of horses. While he is protecting the people like a father and governing them like Yama the chastiser (the god of justice), they have experienced all the happiness of the two worlds. In his joyous expeditions for the conquest of the quarters, full of great valour as he is, the dust raised forcibly from the surface of the earth, agitated by the violent stamping of the hoofs of the tall bounding horses, which bedims the lustre of the sun, always makes the name *taṭinī* (having banks, *i.e.*, a river) of the celestial river literally true. Of unparalleled daring as he is, when the irresistible cloud, in the shape of his sword rested on the summits of mountains in the shape of heads of kings, showers in the shape of the drops [of blood] from the edge of the sword poured down first and then flowed rivers of blood; in those rivers the maddened crowd of beings rambles in boats made of the skulls of elephants by [using as] oars the arms of his enemies which were chopped off, and has not yet ceased. Exalted as he is by his sublime virtues, his ever pure (white) fame humbles the pride of the heavenly Ganges, mars the beauty of the colour intensified manifold of the tusk of the elephant of the gods, inspires the Kailâsa with fear, alarms even the moon, and excites the admiration even of the milky ocean. Seeing from a distance that wonderful form of the store of prowess, graceful on account of the dignified soldierly costume [consisting of] a coat of armour, the enemies, like women, attain to the tenth condition by means of the effects, horripilation and others [1]; who, therefore, does not know that extraordinary manliness of his? What shall we say of the omnipresence of his fame as supreme (over all) in the prowess of his arm, when even Śiva himself is not (in consequence of the excessive white light of the fame overspreading all equally) able to distinguish his eight bodies, and the worlds besides through excess of pride [on account of their being illuminated by the white light of his fame] laugh down to scorn the light of the moon; while all the six oceans compete (quarrel) with the milky ocean? What enemy or beggar,

[1] There are eight kinds of effects produced in a woman when under the influence of love: sweat, stupor, horripilation, &c. These are alluded to by the expression "horripilation and others"; and there are ten conditions into which a lover is placed successively when his love is not requited, and of which the tenth is death.

having come in contact with the edge of his sword or of the stream of water (poured by the hand) in warlike or alms-giving deeds, did not attain his end? Those who have seen his daring, which is more desperate than the sky is unentangled,[1] and more unapproachable than the sea, become despondent on account of its matchlessness. What can hold the announcements of his deeds? Can the quarters or the sky [do it], when they cannot all be accommodated on the walls [in the shape of] the minds of the good? How can we say "here is he," since he pervades all (space)? What place is there which that lord, the store of glory, does not reach by his hands or his taxes? While he is the protector of the Universe, (one can say that) such a Kshatriya was never born or will be born, and what talk then can there be about such a one being among the existing ones? As the heart of the king was charmed by the beautiful performances of skill in the art of singing, one Sâvaladevî (Queen Sâvala) was dearer to him than his life. Like the stream of the Ganges, the nectar (-like complexion) of her body was bright, pure in the three ways, delightful and destructive of all sins. In beauty she was Tilottamâ herself, in singing she was the very Sarasvatî, in good luck (the regards of her husband) she was Pârvatî herself, and in bounty the celestial creeper itself. Her father was Mailugi by name and her mother was one Malhaṇî; in consequence of the virtuous deeds of those two meritorious (persons), such a jewel was born. Her sister was one Bâvaladevî, the store of beauty and grace (or good luck), and possessed of skill in the arts of singing and dancing. Her brother was Bhairava by name, who had exercised himself on the instruments and the body, especially in the Brahmavîṇâ, and was skilled in the beating of time. On one occasion while she was singing skilfully in the great audience-hall, in which the customary music of the flute, the lute, the drum, and the Paṇava was going on, and in which were sitting eminent men of that and other kingdoms, who were proficient in the arts of Bharata and others and appreciated the principal and subordinate sentiments and could entertain others, she sang a Dhroṁvaṭṭha, called Gâṇagalapâśa, without previous arrangement (*i.e., ex tempore*), in a manner to have a high or low pitch according to the note used as a base, to bring out the seven kinds of *gamaka*, such as throbbing and tremor, and to render the graceful and soft words distinct; and obtained from the great

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[1] A play upon the word निःसंग.

king who was pleased,—the great king who surpassed, by the pre-eminent virtues of bravery and bounty, the old virtuous Kshatriyas, Nala, Nahusha, Bharata, Bhagîratha and others—his consent [to give land in charity] as a reward, and herself gave at an auspicious place and time, and (afterwards) caused that same sovereign lord of great kings, whose mind was purified by great faith and devotion, to give by pouring water on the twelfth of the bright half of Kârttika, the day being Thursday, the constellation Revatî, the Yoga Vyatipâta, and the Karaṇa, Bava, in Śaka one thousand and ninety-six, to fourteen Brahmans of different Gotras, who were stores of all lores and purified by their righteous conduct, four *nivartanas* of land, each measured by the *mâḍa* pole in a village of the name of Baṭṭachi, in the country of Kaṇaṁvaḍe, and to Śrî-Somanâtha, the god of gods, a field of rice measuring one *nivartana* and a flower garden of the same area for every-day worship; the grant not to be touched by the finger even, by the king or the officers of the king, and to be respected by all. The ancients, who by the force of their holy austerities directly perceived the results of good deeds, thus speak of the fruit of the maintenance of such a charity: "The earth has been enjoyed by many princes, Sagara and others; the fruit accrues to him to whom the earth belongs and at that time when it so belongs. O best of kings, by giving land one gives money, grain, gold, various kinds of jewels, and other gifts. Those who perform the Agnishṭoma and other sacrifices giving Dakshiṇâ do not acquire that merit that is attained by giving land." When it is otherwise, they have laid down the opposite fruit: "He who resumes the land given by him or by others becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. He who ever transgresses the [grant of] land given by others, is bound by the chains of Varuṇa and thrown into pus and blood." Hence the blessed Nârâyaṇa himself, of the name of Râma, who became incarnate through the good fortune of the world, to remove the darkness of ignorance of these human beings by setting them an example in his own virtuous conduct, not being satisfied though there were Smṛitis composed by the revered great Ṛishis, Vyâsa, Parâśara, &c., who had a direct perception of the essence of all righteous behaviour and saw [the occurrences of] the three times (past, present, and future), and though there were the very Śrutis themselves, great and small, ever watchful to give instruction in righteousness, thus solicited future Kshatriya sages in words exceedingly sweet through humility, brief and

graceful, being disquieted by the fear of the [path of] duty laid down by himself becoming corrupt in the course of time: " 'This is a bridge of righteousness common to all kings; you should, therefore, protect it from time to time,' Ramachandra thus entreats all these future kings again and again." This charter has been composed by Âdityadeva, who waits at the feet of the learned Śrîpâda possessing power (genius) and culture. This is the work of the prosperous Âdityadêva, the paramount sovereign of the three worlds in [matters of] Learning. Auspicious glory!

ART. XVIII.—*A First Century Account of the Birth of Buddha.*
By Prof. PETERSON.

[Read, 23rd August 1892.]

No one who has visited the spot can have failed to be struck with the desolation that now enwraps the Buddhist Tope at Sanchi. Rising from the summit of a small hill, which, for him who stands upon it, is the centre of an almost lifeless scene, the monument itself is given over to a solitude that is complete and unbroken. No footfall arrests the ear; no moving thing, the eye. The Tope stands, if one may so speak, in a setting which is fit symbol of the 'vast backward and abysm of time' into which Buddha and his religion, as far as India is concerned, have sunk for ever. Air and tree and sun and the lotus flower at Sanchi remember Buddha: by all else he is forgotten. There is not even one to so much as forget. It is a place of the past, and the dead past in it has buried its dead. That it was not always so we should have known in any case. The Tope itself has sculptured on its gateways more than one representation of the part structures like it played in that Buddhist ritual, which, at the time of its building, was India's highest way of approaching the unseen with worship. But the records of Chinese pilgrims contain descriptions which enable us to conjure up the time when the Sanchi hill was a place of pilgrimage from all India, and from the lands beyond the sea; when the monasteries that surrounded the Tope were filled with pious monks and nuns devoted to its service; when no sun set but saw the hill crowded with worship; when the silence that hangs over it now like a pall gave way to daily bursts of song and praise. One of these descriptions I shall read to you. It is from the pen of I-tsing, a pilgrim who left China twenty-five years after the return to that country of the (to us) better known Hiuen-Tsiang. My quotations are made from translations furnished to the *Journal Asiatique** by a Japanese member of the French Asiatic Society, M. Fuyishama. "I embarked," says I-tsing, "in the province of Koung-Tcheou, in the month of November of the second

* Volume for 1888, p. 411.

year of the Han-king era (A.D. 671), and I journeyed over the Southern Sea. After having skirted many countries, I disembarked and travelled westward. In the fourth year of the same era I came to the country Tamralipti, which is situated on the Gulf of Eastern India. I remained there several months, after which I went into Central India, where I visited Nalanda, Vajrasana, and all the holy places. After a sojourn of more than twenty years in India I came to the country Sribhoja." I-tsing's travels were not even then over. But while lingering in "the countries of the Southern Sea" he wrote and despatched to the faithful in his own land three works, from one of which my extracts are taken. He did this because he feared he might never return. "Life," said he, "is like a running stream—in the morning we know not what we shall be doing at night. I think I may never see you again. Take these books as news of me, and as greeting from your friend in a far country." It is pleasant to be able to add that I-tsing's fears were not fulfilled. He duly returned to China, and was received by Emperor and people with great honour. When he died (A.D. 713), the Emperor paid him the last honour of a public funeral. I make no doubt that I-tsing, in the course of his twenty years' wandering in India, visited Sanchi. But whether that be so or not, the following account of the daily ceremony observed in the sacred places which he visited was without doubt true of Sanchi also. I-tsing is exhorting his countrymen to reform their ritual:—

"In our country (China), from remote antiquity, we have been content with doing worship to the Buddhas by name, and have not thought it necessary to praise their virtue in songs and canticles. But the mere listening to the names of the Buddhas will not enable a man to recognise the extent of their wisdom. It is by listening to verses, which set forth, and praise, their virtues, that a man can judge of their real merit. In these countries of the west there is a stated service of praise round the Tope daily, before or immediately after, sunset. All the clergy issue out of the convent, walk thrice round the tower, and make offerings of incense and flowers. Meanwhile a singer chants, in a sonorous and melodious voice, verses celebrating the virtues of the Great Teacher, of ten or twenty stanzas each, after which the clergy return in single file to the monastery, where each has his appointed seat. When all are seated, one of the chief clergy mounts the pulpit, and recites a short sutra. The pulpit is placed in front of the seat of the highest in rank, and is square, being as high

as it is broad. The sutra recited is in three parts, and was arranged by the Master in the Law, Asvaghosha. The first part consists of six verses, in which the Three Blessed Ones are praised: it is a compendium drawn from other sutras. The second is the sutra proper, in Buddha's own words. The last part, which consists of more than ten verses, expresses the longing of the saint to enter into Nirvana, borne on the wings of good deeds. When the recitation is finished, all the clergy present chant in chorus *Subhashita*, 'well-spoken' or *Badha*, 'amen.' The preacher then descends from the pulpit. The next highest in rank rises, salutes the pulpit, and the seat of the superior, and resumes his seat. Then the next in rank rises in his turn, and salutes, after the example of the first, the pulpit and the seat of the superior. He adds a salutation to his immediate superior in rank and takes his seat again. So do all the others, each saluting the two thrones, and the seat of the monk who is his immediate superior in rank. If the number of the clergy is too great, after four or five have gone through this ceremony, the others salute all together, and disperse. A similar ceremonial is observed in Tamralipti, in Eastern India. In the monastery of Nalanda the monks number five thousand, and so cannot easily be brought together in one place. There are eight courts in that monastery, and five hundred chambers. The service of praise is held at times and in places that are judged suitable. There is a Master of Ceremonies at that convent, whose duty it is to form and direct the processions which the monks make, singing hymns every day before sunset. During the procession a lay virgin and a child, carrying incense and flowers, march at the head of the monks; the procession passes from court to court. At the hour of prayer the monks chant loudly three or four verses of a hymn. The singing must stop with the setting of the sun." Some equally interesting details follow, for which I must refer to M. Fuyishama's important paper. I pass to a place where the name of the poet and saint Asvaghosha occurs a second time. I-tsing is giving an account of the authors of the hymns most in use among the Buddhists. "In ancient times Asvaghosha also composed verses: an Alankarasastra, and works such as the Buddhapurvacharya and the Buddhacharitakavya. If these poems by Asvaghosha were to be translated into Chinese, they would fill more than ten volumes. They set forth the whole doctrine of Buddha, and the story of his life, from the day on which he quitted his father's house to the moment when he entered

Nirvana between the two Sala trees. His verses are sung in the five countries of India, and in the countries of the Southern Sea, being highly esteemed, because they contain many ideas and much sense in few words. The reader is pleased, and learns the doctrine of Buddha without being wearied." In the first of these two passages I-tsing tells us that the ritual for the evening service round the topes was put together by Asvaghosha, and in the second details are given of the writings of one who was a great poet, as well as a Master in the Law in Buddhism. Asvaghosha's praise of the Great Teacher has not been heard in India for a thousand years. In Tibetan records he is spoken of as the first great lyric poet of the new faith, who by his hymns raised Buddhism out of the pedantic scholastic system, and taught the nation to praise Buddha by singing lyric odes. His date is fixed for us by the well-attested fact that it was he who presided over the fourth Council of the Buddhist Church which met on the summons, and in the reign of Kanishka, who was reigning in the second half of the first century of our era. Brahminism, once victorious, was merciless to the Buddhist muse. I believe that we owe to it the disappearance of the plays of Bhasa, a dramatist whom Kalidasa acknowledged as his master. The fragments of Dharmakirti preserved in the anthologies reveal a second loss almost as lamentable. I hope to convince you to-night that, in thrusting Asvaghosha out of her pantheon, India suffered a third loss, comparable to these two, but which has fortunately proved not to be irreparable. India knows Asvaghosha only by five verses in an anthology, two of which have long passed as the work of Bhartrihari, and by the tract Vajrasuchi, which is perhaps of uncertain authorship. His Buddhacharita, or Life of Buddha, was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, by one Dharmaraksha, in the beginning of the fifth century (414—421). A translation of the Chinese book by Mr. Beal forms the nineteenth volume of the Sacred Books of the East. No copy of the original is known to exist in India. But scholars have known for some time that a work, claiming to be a *Mahakavya*, and entitled Sribuddhacharita, by one Asvaghosha, was one of the manuscripts so generously presented to the National Library at Paris by Mr. Brian Haughton Hodgson, British Minister at Nepal. Burnouf, who made such splendid use of the Hodgson MSS. at Paris, had looked at the book, and had recognised its poetical merit. But he had not the same reason that we have for identifying this Asvaghosha with the celebrated writer of the name, and

he was sceptical as to such an identification being possible. He was content to note that it was in substance an abridgment of the Lalitavistara, the recognised authority among Northern Buddhists for the facts of Buddha's life. The long neglect of Buddhist Sanskrit after Burnouf accounts for the want of interest felt in the Buddhacharita. But Asvaghosha's star has been rising recently. Bühler pointed out that the existence of a poem of the kind to which it presumably belonged, which, whatever the date of its composition, was translated into Chinese in the beginning of the fifth century, must be a fact of capital importance in the discussion as to the age of classical poetry in India. In my paper "Panini, Poet, and Grammarian,"* read before the Royal Asiatic Society, I remarked that the startling resemblance between Asvaghosha's poetry and that of Kalidasa could not fail to attract the attention even of the English version of the Chinese translation. I cited some of the verses which stand over Asvaghosha's name in the anthologies. But I had no access to the Buddhacharita, and could not therefore carry the matter further then. We are promised a complete edition of the book, or of all that remains of it, from the competent hands of Professor Cowell. Meanwhile, M. Sylvain Levi, with special reference to the points with regard to Asvaghosha raised by Dr. Bühler and myself, has published with a translation, the first canto of the work, as it stands in the Paris MS.; and we are at last able to judge what manner of poem it is. M. Levi's text is in Roman letters, a way of writing Sanskrit to which our native colleagues never have, and, as I think, never will, take kindly. I have thought it worth while to transliterate it; and Asvaghosha thus after long silence will speak to his countrymen for the first time in the pages of our Society's *Journal*. I have added a translation.

One word of further preface is necessary as to the threefold interest attaching to these recovered verses of Asvaghosha's. That they are poetry, and poetry of a high order, will, I believe, be apparent to my brother Sanskritists from the original, and to others from a translation which I vouch for as a faithful rendering of the original. In a few places I am uncertain of the meaning, but these are all carefully specified in the notes to the Sanskrit text. There is little that is new about the legend as Asvaghosha gives it, but the story is nowhere

* Journ. Roy. As. Soc. XXIII., p. 334.

else, that I know of, told with anything like the same poetic fire. The chief incident, the visit of the aged sage to the child that was to redeem the world, is given with a force and a pathos that make the characters live and move before us even yet. I have already touched on the bearing the poem has on the controversy with regard to the age of Sanskrit classical poetry. These verses cannot be reconciled with Max Müller's theory of an interregnum in Sanskrit poetry, due to the invasions of the Scythian barbarians, and the birth of the *kavya*, or what we call Sanskrit classical poetry, at the end or the interregnum. Asvaghosha was a convert to Buddhism in manhood, and his verses are saturated with the legends of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and with the style of Kalidasa. The Kavyaprakasa might be illustrated from his pages; and I-tsing, you will remember, tells us that, as a matter of fact, he was the author of a work on rhetoric. His first verse here praises Buddha as one for whom no *upama* was possible, and *upamas, utprekshas, rupakas, virodhas*, &c., follow each other in quick succession throughout his poem. Whether it is possible to prove that he had read Kalidasa's poems is a problem in which I invite your collaboration. But, however that may be, the verses, as they stand, are proof positive that in the first century of our era the muse of Sanskrit poetry was already full grown. Lastly, it cannot but be that this poem will again throw into strong relief the many startling resemblances between the legendary account of the circumstances preceding, attending, and following the birth of Buddha, and the Gospel story of the birth of Christ. What the reason for the resemblance may be is a question on which no competent authority has been quick to dogmatise. I permit myself the single remark that no honest enquirer into the origins of the Christian religion can, or will, dismiss as insignificant the fact, that at the very moment of time at which the philosophy and learning of Europe were listening with cold incredulity to the apostles' story of the birth of Christ to save the world, myriads of men and women in India were, in the verses now laid before you, singing daily the marvellous story of the coming down from heaven and the birth of Buddha to effect a similar deliverance.

TRANSLATION.

The Invocation. V. 1.

The bliss He gives is greater than that of the world's Maker: in dispelling darkness He is better than the snn: in driving away darkness He is better than the moon: there is none to whom he can be compared: Glory to Buddha.

The City Kapila. VV. 2—8.

There was a city, girt round by broad, high hills, with lofty houses that rose into the sky, where once the great sage Kapila dwelt (and called after him). So white, so high that it seemed to have stolen from Kailasa hill its ornament of clouds: nay, the clouds overhead it, come there in error (mistaking it for Kailasa hill) made, methinks, that fancy, fact. Lit up by jewelled lamps, that city gave room to poverty as little as to darkness. Fortune herself smiled brighter there for joy to live with its excellent citizens. Beautifying every house with jewels in terrace, arch and rafter end, that city, seeing nothing like itself in the world, set up a rivalry between its own buildings. When the sun, whose rays brook not contempt, came there, and found, notwithstanding, a moon in each fair woman's face, that surpassed in beauty the lotus flower, he set out for the western sea, as if to cool his anger by plunging in its waters. To poet's eye it might have seemed as if that city were trying, with its fair banners that waved in the wind, to rub the spot off the moon, for the reason that folk compared the glory won by the Sakyas to the moon. Though the moon's hands touching its silver palaces made it laugh to scorn the beauty of *kumuda* flowers; it resembled the *kamala* flower, too, when the sun's feet touched its buildings of gold.

King Suddhodana. VV. 9—14.

Crowned king of kings, a sovereign, by name Suddhodana, kinsman of the sun, adorned that royal city, as the bee (?) adorns the full-blown lotus. Though pre-eminent among kings (mountains), he was not with out friends (wings); though his bounty (the juice on an elephant's temples) flowed freely, he was without pride (the condition of a must elephant); though a king (Siva, the god of the three eyes) he looked with equal eyes on all his subjects; though of a kindly (kin to the moon) nature, of great glory (the sun's heat) too. The elephant

of his foes, as they fell struck down by his arm in battles, seemed to be bowing low before him with offerings of flowers, by reason of the gems which poured out of their cloven skulls. His enemies fled from before his glory as darkness flies from before the sun: shedding light on all people, he seemed to be pointing out to them the way of safety. Duty, self-interest, and pleasure did not invade each the other's sphere, such was his good government: it seemed as if they showed their natural rivalry in the attempt to shine, each the brightest, in the fair kingdom of that prosperous king. Placed at their head by ministers of noble mind (number) yet numberless, that one of nature noble (not at the head) shone all the brighter, as the moon at the head of the stars that shed all their rays towards it.

Queen Maya. VV. 15—17.

Chief queen of all his queens, the brightness of his glory, shining like the rays of the sun victorious over darkness, was Maya, who was, so to say, free from *máyá* (guile). She was an earthly image of the best of goddesses, like *Mátá* (the Mother) in her unwearied care for her people, like *Bhakti* (Respect) ever in attendance on the elders, like *Lakshmí* (Fortune) shedding light through the palace. Truly the nature of women is at all times dark, but when she appeared, it shone: let but the crescent moon arise, and the night is not so wholly dark as before.

Buddha's Incarnation and Birth. VV. 18—46.

"So long as I have no organs of sense I cannot unite this erring people to myself" so saying righteousness quitted its subtle nature, and made for itself a visible form. Afterwards falling from the place called *Tushita*, lighting up the three worlds as he came, the best of Bodhisattvas entered the side of Maya, preserving full consciousness, as the king of serpents entered the cave Nanda. Wearing the majestic form of an elephant, white as Himalaya hill, with six tusks, its face perfumed with the juice exuding from its temples, he entered the side of the chief queen of Suddhodana, to destroy the sin of the world. The protectors of the world (*lokapálas*) came from the sky to perform the *rakshavidhána* rite of him who was the world's sole lord: the moon's rays, that shine everywhere, shine brightest on the hill Kailasa. Maya, with that child in her womb, shone like a bank of clouds in which lightning lurks: with the rain of her largess too she allayed the burning poverty of her people. Now it came to pass that

the queen with her waiting women had, going to the garden, called Lumbini, by permission of the king, for this last longing had come upon her. And as she laid hold of a branch that was bent down towards her by the weight of its flowers, the Bodhisattva in a moment cleft her side and came forth. The star cluster Pushya was shining bright when that son was born, for the world's good, from the side of the queen, whose purification had been accomplished, without pain or sickness to his mother. As the sun emerges from a cloud, so came he forth from his mother's side: with flashing rays, that drove darkness before them, he made the world the colour of gold. Pleased at heart the god of the thousand eyes (Indra) received him gently at his birth, who was yellow as a golden sacrificial post: two clear streams of water fell on his head, with clusters of *mandâra* flowers. Borne aloft by the chief among gods, and illuminating them by the rays from his body, he was fairer than the moon floating on a cloud at twilight. The star cluster Pushya was shining bright when that one was born, for the world's good, from the side of the queen, whose purification had been accomplished, without pain or sickness to his mother.

As Aurva took birth from the thigh, Prithu from the hand, Mandhata, Indra's rival, from the head, and Kakshivat from the arm, to such kind was the birth of this one. As he slowly issued from his mother's womb he shone, as if coming from heaven, not being born as others are (*yonyajâta*) : it seemed as if, having controlled his sense through many ages, he was now born with full consciousness, and not a simple child. By his glory, his majesty, his light, he shone as if he were the morning sun descended upon earth: yet shining thus in all lustre he took the eyes of the gazers as the moon might do. Like the sun, with the glory that issued from his frame, he robbed the lamps of their light; with his colour of pure gold he lit up the North, the South, the East and the West. Thereupon he took seven steps, free from confusion, the foot lifted up with no conscious effort, not sliding along the ground, wide and firm, like the seven sages (the Great Bear). And stalking about like a lion, casting his eyes in every direction, he spoke this word concerning the things that were to come, "I am born to knowledge for the good of the world, this is my last birth." There fell from the sky two streams of water, bright as the moon's rays—one cold, the other hot; they fell on the dear head of that incomparable one for his body's good. In his honour as he lay on a

couch with a beauteous awning, frame of gold and feet of crystal, the lords of the Yakshas stood round with golden lotuses in their hands. Such was his power that even the dwellers inh eaven, with heads bent low, spread in the sky for him a white umbrella, and uttered prayers and incantations for his knowledge. The great serpents, whose thirst after righteousness had caused them to serve previous Buddhas, fanned him, fixing their eyes of devotion on him, and showered down *mandâra* flowers. Pleased at the coming of the Buddha the Suddhadhivasa gods, the pure ones (*visuddhasattvas*) rejoiced aloud, though passion (music) was extinct in them saying:—"This is he that shall deliver a world sunk in sorrow." At his birth the earth, fixed fast as it is by the monarch of mountains, rocked like a boat that is struck by the wind: from a cloudless sky there fell a shower perfumed with sandalwood, and bearing with it *utpala* and *padma* flowers. The winds blew soft to the touch and cheering, causing celestial raiment to fall from the sky: the very sun shone brighter, and fire blazed up without tendance. In the north-east corner of the house a well of clear water sprung up of its own accord, in which, as in a holy tirtha the women with wonder in their hearts performed their rites. The garden was filled (?) with hosts of spirits longing after righteousness, and with the people of the town came to see the child. It seemed itself to wonder, and to receive with honour its many guests by means of its trees full of odorous flowers. Every tree put out its own flowers: their fragrance was wafted abroad by the winds, bees hovered humming over them, troops of serpents gulped down the wind made fragrant by them. On all sides the wood resounded with the notes of *tûryas*, *mridangas*, *viṇás*, *mukundás* and *marujas*, struck by women whose earrings moved and tinkled to their dance.

THE WORDS OF THE BRAHMINS. VV. 47—54. *

The royal science which these two founders of their races, the Rishis Bhrigu and Angiras, could not compose, was composed in due time by their sons, Sukra and Brihaspati. And Sarasvati's son uttered the lost

* NOTE.—There is an evident gap here in the poem as the Paris MS. has it. From the Chinese version we can see that king and queen were disturbed as well as pleased by the portents, and that Suddhodana in particular was made anxious by the thought that the career these seemed to foreshadow was not paralleled by anything in the history of his house. The verses that follow seek to allay his apprehensions upon this score. They are a most valuable record of the condition and traditions of Sanskrit Literature at the date of the composition of the poem.

Veda, which none had seen before: Vyasa divided it into many Vedas, a work which Vasishtha had not the strength to do. The cry of Valmika created verse, such verse as the great sage, Chyavana, could not make: the science of medicine which Atri did create was uttered afterwards by the sage his son. Kusika could not get himself made a Brahmin, but his son, O king, found out the means to do that. Sagara set a limit to the sea, which the children of Ikshvaku failed to do; Janaka got what others failed to get, the position of a master in Yoga among the Brahmins; the gods themselves would be all too weak if set to the famous deeds that Krishna did. Therefore, age is not the measure here, nor is time. Someone some time comes to distinction in the world; kings' sons and rishis' sons have ere now done beneficent deeds, such as their fathers could not do. So spake the Brahmins and brought forward examples, and the King was comforted. Glad at heart he dismissed from his mind the sorrow he had not been able to get rid of: nay, he climbed to the very height of joy. Pleased, he gave to those excellent Brahmins gifts and great honour: "May my son be a king as you say, and may he take to the forest life in old age only."

THE VISIT OF ASITA. VV. 55—87.

Now it came to pass that the great sage Asita, having learned by signs, and by virtue of his austerities, of the birth of him that should put an end to birth, came to the house of the Lord of the Sakyas, thirsting after true righteousness. The Guru of the King, himself learned in Brahma, paid all honour and reverence due to Asita, who shone among the learned in Brahma with the double light of Brahma and of penance, and took him to the King. The women's apartments were full of the tumultuous joy caused by the birth of a prince: he traversed them, composed in mind, conscious of the double strength of penance and age. The king gave the sage a seat, and honoured him, as was right, with water for his feet and the guest offering; then spoke courteous words of welcome to him, as of old time Antideva greeted Vasishtha: "Happy am I, and surely favoured is my house that the venerable one has come to see me: say, Good Sir, what can I do for you, I am your disciple, speak freely." Thus heartily greeted by the King with all due honour, the sage, his eyes wide-staring through joyous amazement, spoke in a firm voice:—"This is like thee, oh noble heart, to whom the guest is dear, that art liberal,

and lovest righteousness: it is like thy nature, thy race, thy knowledge, and thy age, that thou shouldst bear this loving mind to me. This is that by reason of which those royal sages of old time, forsaking, for righteousness' sake, house and goods, have made themselves, by constant holy alms, rich in penance, poor in riches. Hear from me why I am come to thee, and rejoice: as I journeyed through the sky I heard a heavenly voice saying, 'Unto thee a son is born for knowledge.' Hearing this voice, and marvelling what it should mean, I learned by signs, and therefore am I come: I desire to see this banner of the Sakya race that has been lifted up as of old was the banner of Indra." When the King heard these words he trembled in all his limbs for joy: he took the sage and showed him the child lying in his nurse's lap. The great sage looked at the King's son, and saw with wonder that his hands had the mark of a wheel, that his fingers and his toes were webbed, that between his brows there was a tuft of hair, and that his testicles were (drawn in) like those of an elephant. As he gazed on the child lying in its nurse's lap, like Agni's son in the lap of Devi, tears gathered on his eyelashes, he sighed, and lifted up his eyes to heaven. The King saw Asita's eyes swimming in tears, and for love of his son he trembled: in stammering tones, and with a throat choked with tears, he implored the sage, putting his hands together, and bending low: "Why, sage, strong man that you are, do you weep as you look on this child, whose little body bears such wondrous marks, whose birth was so glorious, and for whom you have yourself foretold so high a destiny. Is, holy man, the child firm of breath? Can it be that he has been born to my sorrow? At last I have gotten a son to sprinkle the funeral water upon me, time is not mine to protect him. Is he an imperishable store of glory for me? ——shall I go happy to the other world?——Can it be that my House has put forth a branch that will never flower, that bears the seed of decay in it: speak quickly, Lord, my heart is heavy; for I know how dear this my son is to all his kin." When the sage saw that that royal sage was troubled at the thought of evil for his son, he spoke and said: "Do not, King, mistake: all that I said was true. This altered mood does not mean that I was mistaken about him; it is my own loss at which I am grieving: my time to go is come, and, lo! he is born that shall learn the hard secret of how birth is to be destroyed. He will leave his royal state, and turn his back upon the things of sense: by fierce endeavours he will attain unto the truth: then will he shine out,

a sun of knowledge, and destroy the darkness of error. He will rescue the weary world from the sea of sorrow, whose foam is disease, whose wave is old age, whose strong current is death: placing it upon his great raft of knowledge, he will bear it to the further shore. A fair river of righteousness shall issue from this child, with knowledge for its waters, right conduct for its banks, meditation for coolness, and the law for its *chakravaka* birds: the thirsty world shall drink thereof. To men pressed hard by sorrow, girt round by the things of the flesh, wandering in the rough places of this world, he will proclaim a way of deliverance, as one points the way to travellers who have missed their road. The world is burning in the fire of passion, whose fuel is the senses: he will send down cooling upon it in a shower of righteousness, as a great cloud sends down its rain at the end of the hot season. The door that has desire for its bolt, and illusion and darkness for its two panels, he will burst open with the hammer of true righteousness, and set his people free. The world is close bound in the snare of its own folly, a prey to sorrow, and with none to help: this child will know the truth, and, King of Righteousness, will deliver it from captivity. Therefore sorrow not thou for him: sorrow for each one of humankind who, from illusion, or lust of pleasure, or pride, shall refuse to hear his perfect doctrine. For me, I have fallen away from that grace, and, though I have attained supernatural powers, I look on myself as having failed: since I cannot hear his message of righteousness, I count a dwelling in highest heaven but loss." When he heard Asita speak thus, the King with his friends and his wives bade farewell to sadness, and rejoiced greatly: for as he thought what manner of son his was, he reckoned it for an increase of his own substance. When he thought on the words, 'He will take the noble path,' care filled his heart: not that he was not on the side of righteousness, but he feared for the continuance of his race. Afterwards the sage Asita, having thus revealed to the troubled King the future regarding his son, went through the air, as he had come, gazed on reverently by all.

ASITA'S WORD TO HIS NEPHEW. V. 87.

Satisfied (that this was the Buddha) that holy man, when again the saw his younger sister's son, strove compassionately in every way to attach him to the hearing of the word of the sage and to his doctrine, as he would have done for a dear son of his own.

THE RETURN TO THE CITY KAPILA. VV. 88—95.

But the King, pleased at the birth of a son, set free all prisoners throughout his dominions, and made his dear son undergo, with all ceremony due, the birth rites of his house. When ten days were measured out, therefore, the pious King, with a heart full of joy, performed each excellent sacrifice, with prayer and offerings for his son. Moreover, he gave with his own hands to the Brahmins cows in milk, to the full number of one hundred thousand, their horns tipped with gold, with stout and lusty calves, as yet untouched by age. And when, with a mind under full control, he had thus, that his son might grow in strength, performed rites of every kind to his heart's content, glad at heart he resolved, the day being propitious and the hour favourable, to return to the city. The Queen sat in a palanquin of ivory of great price, that was filled with flowers and alight with jewels, having first as a mother rendered thanks to the gods. The King made her enter the city first followed by the elders and with her child on her knee; then entered himself, worshipped by the thronging citizens, as Indra is worshipped by the immortals when he enters heaven. Then plunging into his palace (*bhavanam*) the king of the Sakyas, as joyous as Bhava (Siva) when the six-faced god was born, his face beaming over with joy, issued order on order in quick succession, for the greater prosperity and glory of everyone. Thus was that city Kapila with all its inhabitants as glad by reason of the good fortune of the prince's birth, as the city of the Lord of Wealth (Kubera) was, with all its heavenly nymphs, when Nalakubara was born.

Here endeth the first canto, called 'The Birth of the Holy One' in the Mahakavya Sri-Buddhacharita.

THE SANSKRIT TEXT.

ॐ नमो रत्नत्रयाय ।

श्रियं परार्ध्यां विदधद्विधातृजि-

त्तमो निरस्यन्नभिभूतभानुभृत् ।

नुदन्निदाघं जितचारुचन्द्रमाः

स वन्द्यते ऽर्हन्निह यस्य नोपमा ॥ १ ॥

आसीद्विशालोन्नतसानुलक्ष्म्या

पयोदपङ्क्त्येव परीतपार्श्वम् ।

उदग्रधिष्ण्यं गगने ऽवगाढं

पुरं महर्षेः कपिलस्य वस्तु ॥ २ ॥

सितोन्नतेनेव नयेन हृत्वा

कैलासशैलस्य यदभ्रशोभाम् ।

भ्रमादुपेतान्बृहदम्बुवाहा-

न्संभावनां वा सफलीचकार ॥ ३ ॥

रत्नप्रभोद्भासिनि यत्र लेभे

तमो न दारिद्र्यमिवावकाशम् ।

परार्ध्यपौरैः सहवासतोषात्

कृतस्मितेवातिरराज लक्ष्मीः ॥ ४ ॥

यद्वेदिकातोरणसिंहकर्णे

रत्नैर्दधानं प्रतिवेश्म शोभाम् ।

जगत्यदृष्ट्वेव समानमन्यत्

स्पर्धां स्वगेहैर्मिथ एव चक्रे ॥ ५ ॥

रामामुखेन्दून्परिभूतपद्मा-
न्यत्रोपयातो ऽप्यविमान्यभानुः ।
संतापयोगादिव वारि वेष्टुं
पश्चात्समुद्राभिमुखः प्रतस्थे ॥ ६ ॥

शाक्यार्जितानां यशसां जनेन
दृष्टान्तभावं गमितो ऽयमिन्दुः ।
इति ध्वजैश्चारुचलत्पताकै-
र्यन्मार्ष्टुमस्याङ्कमिवोदयच्छत् ॥ ७ ॥

कृत्वापि रात्रौ कुमुदप्रहास-
मिन्दोः करैर्यद्व्रजतालयस्थैः ।
सौवर्णहर्म्येषु गतार्कपादै-
र्दिवा सरोजद्युतिमाललम्बे ॥ ८ ॥

महीभृतां मूर्ध्नि कृताभिषेकः
शुद्धोदनो नाम नृपो ऽर्कबन्धुः ।
अध्याशयो वा स्फुटपुण्डरीकं
पुराधिराजं तदलंचकार ॥ ९ ॥

भूभृत्पराध्यो ऽपि सपक्ष एव
प्रवृत्तदानो ऽपि मदानुपेतः ।
ईशो ऽपि नित्यं समदृष्टिपातः
सौम्यस्वभावो ऽपि पृथुप्रतापः ॥ १० ॥

भुजेन यस्याभिहताः पतन्तो
द्विषद्विपेन्द्राः समराङ्गणेषु ।
उद्भ्रान्तमुक्ताप्रकरैः शिरोभि-
र्भक्त्येव पुष्पाञ्जलिभिः प्रणेमुः ॥ ११ ॥

अतिप्रतापादवभूय शत्रू-
  न्महोपरागानिव तिग्मभानुः
उद्द्योतयामास जनं समन्ता-
  त्प्रदर्शयन्नाश्रयणीयमार्गान् ॥ १२ ॥
धर्मार्थकामा विषयं मिथो ऽन्यं
  न वेशमाचक्रमुरस्य नीत्या ।
विस्पर्धमाना इव तुमसिद्धैः
  सुगोचरे दीप्ततरा बभूवुः ॥ १३ ॥
उदारसंख्यैः सचिवैरसंख्यैः
  कृताप्रभावः स उदप्रभावः ।
शशी यथा भैरकृतान्यथाभैः
  शाक्येन्द्रराजः सुतरां रराज ॥ १४ ॥
तस्यातिशोभाविसृतातिशोभा
  रविप्रभेवास्ततमः प्रभावा ।
समग्रदेवीनिवहाग्रदेवी
  बभूव मायापगतेव माया ॥ १५ ॥
प्रजासु मातेव हितप्रवृत्ता
  गुरौ जनैभक्तिरिवानुवृत्ता ।
लक्ष्मीरिवाधीशकुले कृताभा
  जगत्यभूदुत्तमदेवताभा ॥ १६ ॥
कामं सदा स्त्रीचरितं तमिस्रं
  तथापि तां प्राप्य भृशं विरेजे ।
नहींदुलेखामुपगम्य शुभ्रां
  नक्तं तथा गतमसत्त्वमेति ॥ १७ ॥

अनिन्द्रियेनात्मनि दुःकुहो ऽयं
मया जनो योजयितुं न शक्यः ।
इतीव सूक्ष्मां प्रकृतिं विहाय
धर्मेण साक्षाद्विहिता स्वमूर्तिः ॥ १८ ॥
च्युतो ऽथ कायात्तुषितात्त्रिलोकी-
मुद्द्योतयन्नुत्तमबोधिसत्त्वः ।
विवेश तस्याः स्मृत एव कुक्षौ
नन्दागुहायां इव नागराजः ॥ १९ ॥
धृत्वा हिमाद्रिधवलं गुरु षड्विषाणं
दानाधिवासितमुखं द्विरदस्य रूपम् ।
शुद्धोदनस्य वसुधाधिपतेर्महिष्याः
कुक्षिं विवेश स जगद्व्यसनक्षयाय ॥ २० ॥
रक्षाविधानं प्रति लोकपाला
लोकैकनाथस्य दिवो ऽभिजग्मुः ।
सर्वत्र भान्तोपि हि चन्द्रपादा
भजन्ति कैलाशगिरौ विशेषम् ॥ २१ ॥
मायापि तं कुक्षिगतं दधाना
विद्युद्विलासं जलदावलीव ।
दानाभिवर्षैः परितो जनानां
दारिद्र्यतापं शमयां चकार ॥ २२ ॥
सान्तःपुरजना देवी कदाचिदथ लुम्बिनीम् ।
जगामानुमते राज्ञः संभूतोत्तमदोहदा ॥ २३ ॥
शाखामालम्ब्यमानायाः पुष्पभारावलम्बिनीम् ।
देव्याः कुक्षिं विभिद्याशु बोधिसत्त्वो विनिर्ययौ ॥ २४ ॥

ततः प्रसन्नः स बभूव पुष्य-
स्तस्याश्च देव्या व्रतसंस्कृतायाः ।
पार्श्वात्सुतो लोकहिताय जज्ञे
निर्वेदनं चैव निरामयं च ॥ २५ ॥

प्राप्तः पयोदादिव तिग्मभानुः
समुद्भवन्सोपि च मातृकुक्षेः ।
स्फुरन्मयूखैर्विहतान्धकारै-
श्चकार लोकं कनकावदातम् ॥ २६ ॥

तं जातमात्रमथ काञ्चनयूपगौरं
प्रीतः सहस्रनयनः शनकैरगृह्णात् ।
मन्दारपुष्पनिकरैः सह तस्य मूर्ध्नि
खान्निर्मले च विनिपेततुरम्बुधारे ॥ २७ ॥

सुरप्रधानैः परिधार्यमाणो
देहांशुजालैरनुरञ्जयंस्तान् ।
संध्याभ्रजालोपरिसंनिविष्टं
नवोडुराजं विजिगाय लक्ष्म्या ॥ २८ ॥

ततः प्रसन्नश्च बभूव पुष्य-
स्तस्याश्च देव्या व्रतसंस्कृतायाः ।
पार्श्वात्सुतो लोकहिताय जज्ञे
निर्वेदनं चैव निरामयं च ॥ २९ ॥

ऊरोर्यथौर्वस्य पृथोश्च हस्ता-
न्मान्धातुरिन्द्रप्रतिमस्य मूर्ध्नः ।
कक्षीवतश्चैव भुजांशदेशा-
त्तथाविधं तस्य बभूव जन्म ॥ ३० ॥

क्रमेण गर्भादभिनिःसृतः स-
न्वभौ गतः खादिव योन्यजातः ।
कल्पेष्वनेकेष्विव भावितात्मा
यः संप्रजानन्सुषुवे न मूढः ॥ ३१ ॥
दीप्त्या च धैर्येण श्रिया रराज
बालो रविर्भूमिमिवावतीर्णः ।
तथातिदीप्तो ऽपि निरीक्ष्यमाणो
जहार चक्षूंषि यथा शशाङ्कः ॥ ३२ ॥
स हि स्वगात्रप्रभयोज्ज्वलन्त्या
दीपप्रभां भास्करवन्मुमोष ।
महार्हजाम्बूनदचारुवर्णो
विद्योतयामास दिशश्च सर्वाः ॥ ३३ ॥
अनाकुलान्यब्जसमुद्गतानि
निष्पेषवन्त्यायतविक्रमाणि ।
तथैव धीराणि पदानि सप्त
सप्तर्षितारासदृशो जगाम ॥ ३४ ॥
बोधाय जातोऽस्मि जगद्धितार्थ-
मन्त्या तथोत्पत्तिरियं ममेति ।
चतुर्दिशं सिंहगतिर्विलोक्य
वाणीं च भव्यार्थकरीमुवाच ॥ ३५ ॥
खात्प्रस्रुते चन्द्रमरीचिशुभ्रे
द्वे वारिधारे शिशिरोष्णवीर्ये ।
शरीरसौख्यार्थमनुत्तरस्य
निपेततुर्मूर्धनि तस्य सौम्ये ॥ ३६ ॥

श्रीमद्वितानें कनकोज्ज्वलाङ्गे
  वैडूर्यपादे शयने शयानम् ।
यद्गौरवात्काञ्चनपद्महस्ता
  यक्षाधिपाः संपरिवार्य तस्थुः ॥ ३७ ॥
मायातनूजस्य दिवौकसः खे
  यस्य प्रभावात्प्रणतैः शिरोभिः ।
अधारयन्पाण्डुरमातपत्रं
  बोधाय जेपुः परमाशिषश्च ॥ ३८ ॥
महोरगा धर्मविशेषतर्षा-
  द्बुद्धेष्वतीतेषु कृताधिकाराः ।
यमभ्यजन्भक्तिविशिष्टनेत्रा
  मन्दारपुष्पैः समवाकिरंश्च ॥ ३९ ॥
तथागतोत्पातगुणेन तुष्टाः
  शुद्धाधिवासाश्च विशुद्धसत्त्वाः ।
देवा ननन्दुर्विगतेऽपि रागे
  ममस्य दुःखे जगतो हितो यः ॥ ४० ॥
यस्मिन्प्रसूते गिरिराजकीला
  वाताहता नौरिव भूश्चचाल ।
सचन्दना चोत्पलपद्मगर्भा
  पपात वृष्टिर्गगनादनभ्रात् ॥ ४१ ॥
वाता ववुः स्पर्शसुखा मनोज्ञा
  दिव्यानि वासांस्यवपातयन्तः ।
सूर्यः स एवाभ्यधिकं चकाशे
  जज्वाल सौम्यार्चिरनीरितोऽग्निः ॥ ४२ ॥

प्रागुत्तरे चाश्वसथप्रदेशे
    कूपः स्वयं प्रादुरभूत्सिताम्बुः ।
अन्तःपुराण्यागतविस्मयानि
    यस्मिन्क्रियास्तीर्थ इव प्रचक्रुः ॥ ४३ ॥
धर्मार्थिभिर्भूतगणैश्च दिव्यै-
    स्तद्दर्शनार्थं वनमाप्रपूरैः ।
कौतूहलेनैव — पादपैश्च
    प्रपूजयामास सगन्धपुष्पैः ॥ ४४ ॥
पुष्पद्रुमाः स्वं कुसुमं पफेलुः
    समीरणोद्भ्रामितदिक्सुगन्धि ।
सुसंभ्रमद्भृङ्गवधूपगीतं
    भुजंगवृन्दापिहितात्तवातम् ॥ ४५ ॥
क्वचित्क्वणत्तूर्यमृदङ्गगीतै-
    र्वीणामुकुन्दामुरजादिभिश्च ।
स्त्रीणां चलत्कुण्डलभूषितानां
    विराजितं चोभयपार्श्वतस्तत् ॥ ४६ ॥
यद्राजशास्त्रं भृगुरङ्गिरा वा
    न चक्रतुर्वंशकरावृषी तौ ।
तयोः सुतौ तौ च ससर्जतुस्त-
    त्कालेन शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्च ॥ ४७ ॥
सारस्वतश्चापि जगाद नष्टं
    वेदं पुनर्यं ददृशुर्न पूर्वम् ।
व्यासस्तथैनं बहुधा चकार
    न यं वशिष्ठः कृतवानशक्तिः ॥ ४८ ॥

वाल्मीकनादश्च ससर्ज पद्यं
जग्रन्थ यन्न च्यवनो महर्षिः ।
चिकित्सितं यच्च चकार नात्रिः
पश्चात्तदात्रेय ऋषिर्जगाद ॥ ४९ ॥

यच्च द्विजत्वं कुशिको न लेभे
तत्साधनं सूनुरवाप राजन् ।
वेलां समुद्रे सगरश्च दध्रे
नेक्ष्वाकवो यां प्रथमं बबन्धुः ॥ ५० ॥

आचार्यकं योगविधौ द्विजाना-
मप्राप्तमन्यैर्जनको जगाम ।
ख्यातानि कर्माणि च यानि शौरेः
शूरादयस्तेष्वबला बभूवुः ॥ ५१ ॥

तस्मात्प्रमाणं न वयो न कालः
कश्चित्क्वचिच्छ्रैष्ठ्यमुपैति लोके ।
राज्ञामृषीणां च हितानि तानि
कृतानि पूर्वैरकृतानि पुत्रैः ॥ ५२ ॥

एवं नृपः प्रत्ययितैर्द्विजैस्तै-
राश्वासितश्चाप्यभिनन्दितश्च ।
शङ्कामनिष्टां विजहौ मनस्तः
प्रहर्षमेवाधिकमारुरोह ॥ ५३ ॥

प्रीतश्च तेभ्यो द्विजसत्तमेभ्यः
सत्कारपूर्वं प्रददौ धनानि ।
भूयादयं भूमिपतिर्यथोक्तो
यायाज्जरामेत्य वनानि चेति ॥ ५४ ॥

अथो निमित्तैश्च तपोबलाच्च
तज्जन्म जन्मान्तकरस्य बुद्ध्वा ।
शाकेश्वरस्यालयमाजगाम
सद्धर्मतर्षादसितो महर्षिः ॥ ५५ ॥

तं ब्रह्मविद्ब्रह्मविदां ज्वलन्तं
ब्राह्म्या श्रिया चैव तपःश्रिया च ।
राज्ञो गुरुर्गौरवसत्क्रियाभ्यां
प्रवेशयामास नरेन्द्रसद्म ॥ ५६ ॥

स पार्थिवान्तःपुरसन्निकर्षं
कुमारजन्मागतहर्षवेगम् ।
विवेश धीरो बलसंज्ञयैव
तपःप्रकर्षाच्च जराश्रयाच्च ॥ ५७ ॥

ततो नृपस्तं मुनिमासनस्थं
पाद्यार्घ्यपूर्वं प्रतिपूज्य सम्यक् ।
निमन्त्रयामास यथोपचारं
पुरा वशिष्ठं स इवान्तिदेवः ॥ ५८ ॥

धन्योस्म्यनुग्राह्यमिदं कुलं मे
यन्मां दिदृक्षुर्भगवानुपेतः ।
आज्ञाप्यतां किं करवाणि सौम्य
शिष्यो ऽस्मि विश्रम्भितुमर्हसीति ॥ ५९ ॥

एवं नृपेणोपनिमन्त्रितः स-
न्सर्वेण भावेन मुनिर्यथावत् ।
सविस्मयोत्फुल्लविशालदृष्टि-
र्गम्भीरधीराणि वचांस्युवाच ॥ ६० ॥

40

महात्मनि त्वय्युपपन्नमेत-
स्त्रियातिथौ त्यागिनि धर्मकामे ।
सत्त्वान्वयज्ञानवयोनुरूपा
स्निग्धा यदेवं मयि ते मतिः स्यात् ॥ ६१ ॥
एतच्च तद्येन नृपर्षयस्ते
धर्मेण सूक्ष्माणि धनान्यपास्य ।
नित्यं त्यजन्तो विधिवद्बभूवु-
स्तपोभिराढ्या विभवैर्दरिद्राः ॥ ६२ ॥
प्रयोजनं यत्तु ममोपयाने
तन्मे शृणु प्रीतिमुपैहि च त्वम् ।
दिव्या मया दिव्यपथे श्रुता वा-
ग्बोधाय जातस्तनयस्तवेति ॥ ६३ ॥
श्रुत्वा वचस्तच्च मनश्च युक्त्वा
ज्ञात्वा निमित्तैश्च ततो ऽस्म्युपेतः ।
दिदृक्षया शाक्यकुलध्वजस्य
शक्रध्वजस्येव समुच्छ्रितस्य ॥ ६४ ॥
इत्येतदेवं वचनं निशम्य
प्रहर्षसंभ्रान्तगतिर्नरेन्द्रः ।
आदाय धात्र्यङ्कगतं कुमारं
संदर्शयामास तपोधनाय ॥ ६५ ॥
चक्राङ्कपाणिं स तथा महर्षि-
र्जालावनद्धाङ्गुलिपाणिपादम् ।
सोर्णभ्रुवं वारणवस्तिकोशं
सविस्मयं राजसुतं ददर्श ॥ ६६ ॥

धात्र्यङ्कसंविष्टमवेक्ष्य चैनं
देव्यङ्कसंविष्टमिवाग्निसूनुम् ।
बभूव पक्ष्मान्तविरञ्चिताश्रु-
र्निःश्वस्य चैवं त्रिदिवोन्मुखोऽभूत् ॥ ६७ ॥
दृष्ट्वासितं त्वश्रुपरिप्लुताक्षं
स्नेहात्तु पुत्रस्य नृपश्चकम्पे ।
सगद्गदं बाष्पकषायकण्ठः
पप्रच्छ च प्राञ्जलिरानताङ्गः ॥ ६८ ॥
स्वल्पान्तरं यस्य वपुर्मुने स्या-
द्बह्वद्भुतं यस्य च जन्म दीप्तम् ।
यस्योत्तमं भाविनमात्थ चार्थं
तं प्रेक्ष्य कस्मात्तव धीर बाष्पः ॥ ६९ ॥
अपि स्थिरायुर्भगवन्कुमारः
कच्चिन्न शोकाय मम प्रसूतः ।
लब्धा कथंचित्सलिलाञ्जलिर्मे
न खल्विमं त्रातुमुपैति कालः ॥ ७० ॥
अप्यक्षयं मे यशसो निधानं
कच्चिद्ध्रुवो मे कुलहस्तसारः ।
अपि प्रयास्यामि सुखं परत्र
सुप्तोऽपि पुत्रोऽनिमिषैकचक्षुः ॥ ७१ ॥
कच्चिन्न मे जातमफुल्लमेव
कुलप्रवालं परिशोषभागि ।
क्षिप्रं विभो ब्रूहि न मेऽस्ति शान्तिः
स्नेहं सुते वेत्सि हि बान्धवानाम् ॥ ७२ ॥

इत्यागतावेगमनिष्टबुद्ध्या
बुद्ध्वा मुनींद्रं स मुनिर्बभाषे ।
माभून्मतिस्ते नृप काचिदन्या
निःसंशयं तद्यदवोचमस्मि ॥ ७३ ॥

नास्यान्यथात्वं प्रति विक्रिया मे
स्वां वञ्चनां तु प्रति विक्लवो ऽस्मि ।
कालो हि मे यातुमयं च जातो
जातिक्षयस्यासुलभस्य बोद्धा ॥ ७४ ॥

विहाय राज्यं विषयेष्वनास्थ-
स्तीव्रैः प्रयत्नैरधिगम्य तत्त्वम् ।
जगत्ययं मोहतमो निहन्तुं
ज्वलिष्यति ज्ञानमयो हि सूर्यः ॥ ७५ ॥

दुःखार्णवाद्व्याधिविकीर्णफेना-
ज्जरातरङ्गान्मरणोग्रवेगात् ।
उत्तारयिष्यत्ययमुह्यमान-
मार्तं जगज्ज्ञानमहाप्लवेन ॥ ७६ ॥

प्रज्ञाम्बुवेगां स्थिरशीलवप्रां
समाधिशीतां व्रतचक्रवाकाम् ।
अस्योत्तमां धर्मनदीं प्रवृत्तां
तृष्णार्दितः पास्यति जीवलोकः ॥ ७७ ॥

दुःखार्दितेभ्यो विषयावृतेभ्यः
संसारकान्तारपथस्थितेभ्यः ।
आख्यास्यति ह्येष विमोक्षमार्गं
मार्गप्रणष्टेभ्य इवाध्वगेभ्यः ॥ ७८ ॥

विदह्यमानाय जनाय लोके
 रागाग्निनायं विषयेन्धनेन ।
प्रह्लादमाधास्यति धर्मवृष्ट्या
 वृष्ट्या महामेघ इवातपान्ते ॥ ७९ ॥
तृष्णार्गलं मोहतमःकपाटं
 द्वारं प्रजानामपयानहेतोः ।
विपाटयिष्यत्ययमुत्तमेन
 सद्धर्मताडेन दुरासदेन ॥ ८० ॥
स्वैर्मोहपाशैः परिवेष्टितस्य
 दुःखाभिभूतस्य निराश्रयस्य ।
लोकस्य संबुद्ध्य च धर्मराजः
 करिष्यते बन्धनमोक्षमेषः ॥ ८१ ॥
तन्मा कृथाः शोकमिमं प्रति त्वं
 तत्सौम्य शोच्यो हि मनुष्यलोके ।
मोहेन वा कामसुखैर्मदाद्वा
 यो नैष्ठिकं श्रोष्यति नास्य धर्मम् ॥ ८२ ॥
भ्रष्टस्य तस्माच्च गुणादतो मे
 ध्यानानि लब्ध्वाप्यकृतार्थतेव ।
धर्मस्य तस्याश्रवणादहं हि
 मन्ये विपत्तिं त्रिदिवेपि वासम् ॥ ८३ ॥
इति श्रुतार्थः ससुहृत्सदार-
 स्त्यक्त्वा विषादं मुमुदे नरेन्द्रः ।
एवंविधोयं तनयो ममेति
 मेने स हि स्वामपि सारमत्ताम् ॥ ८४ ॥

आर्येण मार्गेण तु यास्यतीति
चिन्ताविधेयं हृदयं चकार ।
न खल्वसौ न प्रियधर्मपक्षः
संताननाशात्तु भयं ददर्श ॥ ८५ ॥

अथ मुनिरसितो निवेद्य तत्त्वं
सुतनियतं सुतविक्लवाय राज्ञे ।
सबहुमतमुदीक्ष्यमाणरूपः
पवनपथेन यथागतं जगाम ॥ ८६ ॥

कृतमतिरनुजासुतं च दृष्ट्वा
मुनिवचनश्रवणेपि तन्मतौ च ।
बहुविधमनुकम्पया स साधुः
प्रियसुतवद्विनियोजयां चकार ॥ ८७ ॥

नरपतिरपि पुत्रजन्मतुष्टो
विषयमतानि विमुच्य बन्धनानि ।
कुलसदृशमचीकरद्यथाव-
त्प्रियतनयं तनयस्य जातकर्म ॥ ८८ ॥

दशसु परिमितेष्वहःसु चैवं
प्रयतमनाः परया मुदा परीतः ।
अकुरुत जपहोममङ्गलाद्याः
परमतमाः स सुतस्य देवतेज्याः ॥ ८९ ॥

अपि च शतसहस्रपूर्णसंख्याः
स्थिरबलवत्तनयाः सहेमशृङ्गीः ।
अनुपगतजराः पयस्विनीर्गाः
स्वयमददात्सुतवृद्धये द्विजेभ्यः ॥ ९० ॥

बहुविधविषयास्ततो यतात्मा
स्वहृदयतोषकरीः क्रिया विधाय ।
गुणवति दिवसे शिवे मुहूर्ते
मतिमकरोन्मुदितः पुरप्रवेशे ॥ ११ ॥

द्विरदरदमयीमथो महार्हां
सितसितपुष्पभृतां मणिप्रदीपाम् ।
अभजत शिबिकां शिवाय देवी
तनयवती प्रणिपत्य देवताभ्यः ॥ १२ ॥

पुरमथ पुरतः प्रवेश्य पत्नीं
स्थविरजनानुगतामपत्यनाथाम् ।
नृपतिरपि जगाम पौरसंघै-
र्दिवममरैर्मघवानिवार्च्यमानः ॥ १३ ॥

भवनमथ विगाह्य शाक्यराजो
भव इव षण्मुखजन्मना प्रतीतः ।
इदमिदमिति हर्षपूर्णवक्त्रो
बहुविधपुष्टियशस्करं व्यधत्त ॥ १४ ॥

इति नरपतिपुत्रजन्मवृद्ध्या
सजनपदं कपिलाह्वयं पुरं तत् ।
धनदपुरमिवाप्सरोवकीर्णं
मुदितमभून्नलकूबरप्रसूतौ ॥ १५ ॥

इति श्रीबुद्धचरिते महाकाव्ये भगवत्प्रसूतिर्नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥१॥

NOTES.

Verse 2. उस्मधिष्ण्यं. By conjecture. MS. उस्मधिष्णो:. L. corrects उस्मधृष्णो:.

V. 5. अन्यत्. L. amanyat, a printer's error.

V. 7. दृष्टान्तभावं. L.'s correction. MS. दृष्टान्त्वभावं —माष्टुं. L.'s correction. MS. माष्टुं.

V. 9. "Bee" is a purely conjectural interpretation, suggested by the context. I do not know what अभ्याशयो can mean, or be a mistake for.

V. 12. तिग्म°. L.'s correction. MS. तीग्म°.—समन्तात्. By conjecture. L. समन्तान्.

V. 13. An echo of Raghuvansa XVII. 57?

न धर्ममर्थकामाभ्यां बबाधे न च तेन तौ ।
नार्थं कामेन कामं वा सो ऽर्थेन सदृशास्त्रिषु ॥

Perhaps we should read स्वगेचरे.

V. 15. रविप्रभेवास्त°. L.'s. correction. MS. रविप्रभो वास्त°.—समप्रवेशी-निवहामवेशी. Compare नारीसहस्रेषु हि सामभासा, Gâthâ in Lalitavistara, p. 30.—With मायापगतेव here compare मायाकृतेव विम्बं, in the same Gâthâ, The Sanskrit, p. 29, has मायानिर्मितमिव बिम्बं.

V. 17. तमिस्रं. MS. तमिश्रं.

V. 19. स्मृत एव. With full consciousness. M. Levi translates: 'au moment même qu'elle pensait à lui.' But compare स्मृतः संप्रजानन् Lalitavistara, p. 63, which does not mean 'calling to mind the tradition' as the translation has it. Compare also below Verse 31. यः संप्रजानन्सुषुवे न मूढः, where Asvaghosha uses the second word of his text. The same collocation स्मृत: संप्रजानन् occurs again, Lalitavistara, p. 95, where it is correctly translated, 'with full memory, knowing everything'. Foucaux's translation of the Tibetan version of the Lalitavistara has, p. 87, 'ayant le souvenir et la science'—नन्दागुहाया. So MS. L. suggests नन्दो गुहायां.

V. 20. गुरु षड्विंशाणं. L. गुरुषड्विंशार्णं.

V. 22. MS. °विलासं.

V. 25. व्रतसंस्कृताया:. Compare पोषधपरिगृहीताया: Lalitavistara, p. 63.

V. 27. This is in accordance, not with the Lalitavistara, in which Indra and Brahma receive the child, but with the account in the Abhinishkamanasutra. Cf. Foucaux, p. 87, note:

"The Lord of the Gods, knowing that the Queen about to be

delivered, resolved to be the first to receive the Bodhisattva. Then thinking that Queen Maya would be ashamed to be delivered before him, he said to himself, I must devise something. And he took the form of an old woman...But when the Bodhisattva was born, Indra could not hold him, and all his limbs shook. 'Kausika, leave me, leave me,' cried out the Bodhisattva, and the king of the gods let the child go."

V. 30. ययौर्वस्य. L.'s correction. MS. ययोर्वस्य.

V. 31. यः संप्रजानन्. &c. Compare note on स्मृत एव v. 19. L.'s translation, 'Il naquait parce qu'il voulait naître et non par folie,' is wrong. What is meant is that Buddha was born in full possession of his mental, as (v. 34) of his physical powers.

V. 34. The adjectives to पदानि are extremely interesting. The child's steps were अनाकुलानि not perplexed, or hesitating, अन्नसमुद्गतानि taken without conscious exercise of the will (as a man walks), निष्पेषवन्ति not sliding along the ground (he lifted his feet clean from the ground), आयतविक्रमाणि wide, धीराणि firm. Asvaghosha seems to write as a parent as well as a poet. निष्पेषवन्ति is L.'s correction for the निष्पेषन्ति of the MS.

V. 35. अन्त्या. L.'s correction. MS. आन्त्या.

V. 36. स्नात्. This detail has been given already, v. 27.

V. 42. वाता वबुः स्पर्शसुखा मनोज्ञाः Compare मरुतो ववुः सुखाः Raghuvansa III. 14.

V. 44. MS. आप्रपूरे : which L. queries. I conjecture आपि (was filled) पौरैः.

V. 45. °पिहितात्तवातं. So MS. L. conjectures °पिहितालवालं.

V. 48. न यं. L. takes these as one word नयं, the Nitiśâstra.

V. 50. राजन्. By conjecture. MS. राज्ञं. L. conjectures राज्यं.

V. 52. तस्मात्. &c.

" It is not growing like a tree
In bulk, doth make man better be;
Or standing long an oak, three hundred year,
To fall a log at last, dry, bald, and sere:
A lily of a day
Is fairer far in May
Although it fall and die that night—
It was the plant and flower of Light.
In small proportions we just beauties see;
And in short measures life may perfect be."

B. Jonson.

Compare also तेजसां हि वयः न समीक्ष्यते Raghuvansa XI. I.

V. 54. यथोक्तो. L.'s correction. MS. यथोक्तौ. The reference is to something said in the part of the poem missing between our vv. 46 and 47.

V. 61. महात्मनि त्वय्युपपन्नमेतत्. Compare सर्वं सखे त्वय्युपपन्नमेतत् Kumarasambhava III. 12.

V. 63. तत्र may by a strained construction be made to refer to the king: but it is grammatically more correct to make it part of the voice which Asita heard: 'To you is born a son who shall know (find out the way of salvation.' Asita did not understand the meaning of the voice until he had (V. 64) used his supernatural powers to that end.

V. 65. धात्र्यङ्कगतं. This is very noteworthy. In the Lalitavistara, p 112, Buddha's mother dies on the seventh night after the birth of her son, and an account is given of the pains Suddhodana was at to appoint a suitable wet-nurse for Buddha, p. 114. Asvaghosha deviates from the legend as far as Maya's death is concerned (cf. v. 92), but the धात्री appears here all the same.

V. 66. चक्राङ्कपाणि. In the Lalitavistara it is the soles of the two feet that are thus marked.—सोर्णभ्रुवं. By conjecture. L. स्वर्णभ्रुवं. Compare Lalitavistara, p. 120, ऊर्णा महाराज सर्वार्थसिद्धस्य भ्रुवोर्मध्ये जाता हिमरजतप्रकाशा. Cf. also, p. 375, l. 16.—The next epithet means that in the case of Buddha the testicles were withdrawn from sight, as with the elephant. This is still a sign of great strength in India. Compare Foucaux, p. 108, 'ce qu'il faut cacher, est rentré et caché.' This detail is in the Lalitavistara also कोशोपगतबस्तिगुह्यः, p. 121, but is most absurdly rendered in the translation, p. 143, the twenty-first sign.

V. 67. पक्ष्मान्तविरञ्चिताश्रुः (L. conjectures °रञ्चित°). He does not let the tears fall, for that would be a bad omen. Cf. निपतत्पीतबाष्प Kavgaprakâśa. This is the poet's touch. In the Lalitavistara Asita weeps freely.

V. 69. स्यात् is the indeclinable particle here. Compare अस्मि in v. 73.—सं. By conjecture. L. से., a printer's error.

V. 71. The second line of this verse is, as Monsieur Levi has marked, one syllable short, and the meaning both of it and of the fourth line is obscure to me. I have had to leave both lines untranslated. M. Levi in the fourth line changes पुत्रो to पुत्रे, and translates 'gardant dans mon sommeil un œil ouvert sur mon fils.' The image is not a happy one, and I doubt if a Hindoo could have used it. "Even as he lies there asleep, my boy is the darling of the

gods" (referring to the attentions they have showered upon him); is a meaning that has suggested itself to me, but I doubt if it is correct. The words might also mean "even in his sleep my boy keeps one eye open," an alarming sign?).

V. 72. स्नेहं, &c. Suddhodana is thinking of the distress that will fall upon all to whom the boy is dear if any calamity overtakes him. L. changes वेत्थि to वेत्सि and translates 'tu sais comme les parents: aiment leur fils.'

V. 73. काचित्. By conjecture. L. कशाचित्, a printer's error.

V 73. अस्मि. The indeclinable particle. L. corrects to अस्ति.

V. 79. प्रहारं. L. correct's to प्रह्वारं.

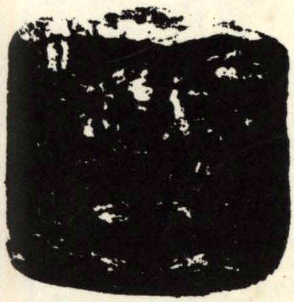
V. 80. °कपाटं. The MS. writes °कपातं.

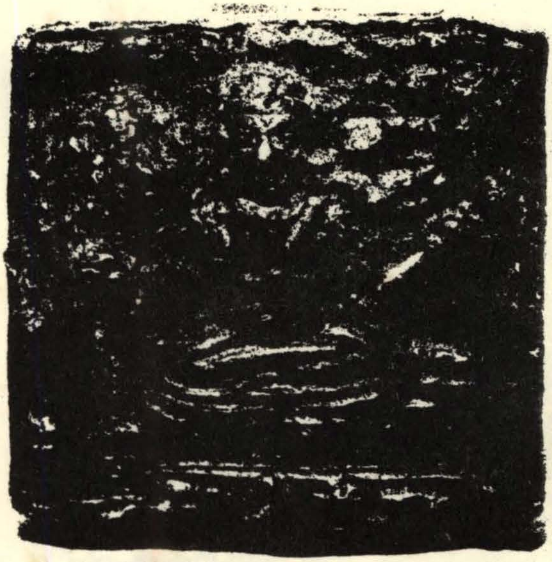
V. 82. घोच्यो. L.'s correction. MS. घोच्चो.

V. 87. If nothing is missing, this verse is a good illustration of what I-tsing meant when he described Asvaghosha as packing a great deal of sense into a very few words. From the other records we learn that Asita had a nephew, Naradatta. In some of the accounts Naradatta accompanies Asita to the city Kapila, in others he remains behind. In all Asita makes it his first business on his return to adjure Naradatta to become one of Buddha's disciples. Compare Lalitavistara. p. 123, अथ तत्र खल्वसितो महर्षिर्नरदत्तं माणवकमेतदवोचत् । यदा त्वं नरदत्त शृणुया बुद्धो लोक उत्पन्न इति तदा त्वं गत्वा तस्य शासने प्रव्रजेः. मुनिवचनश्रवणे &c., is therefore to be construed with विनीयोजयां चकार, not as L. does कृतमति: This last word does not mean 'attentive' here, but 'satisfied' (that this child was he of whom the heavenly voice spoke).



FACSIMILES OF COPPER-PLATE GRANTS DESCRIBED BY DR. R. G. BHANDÁRKAR IN NUMBER 49 OF THE JOURNAL.

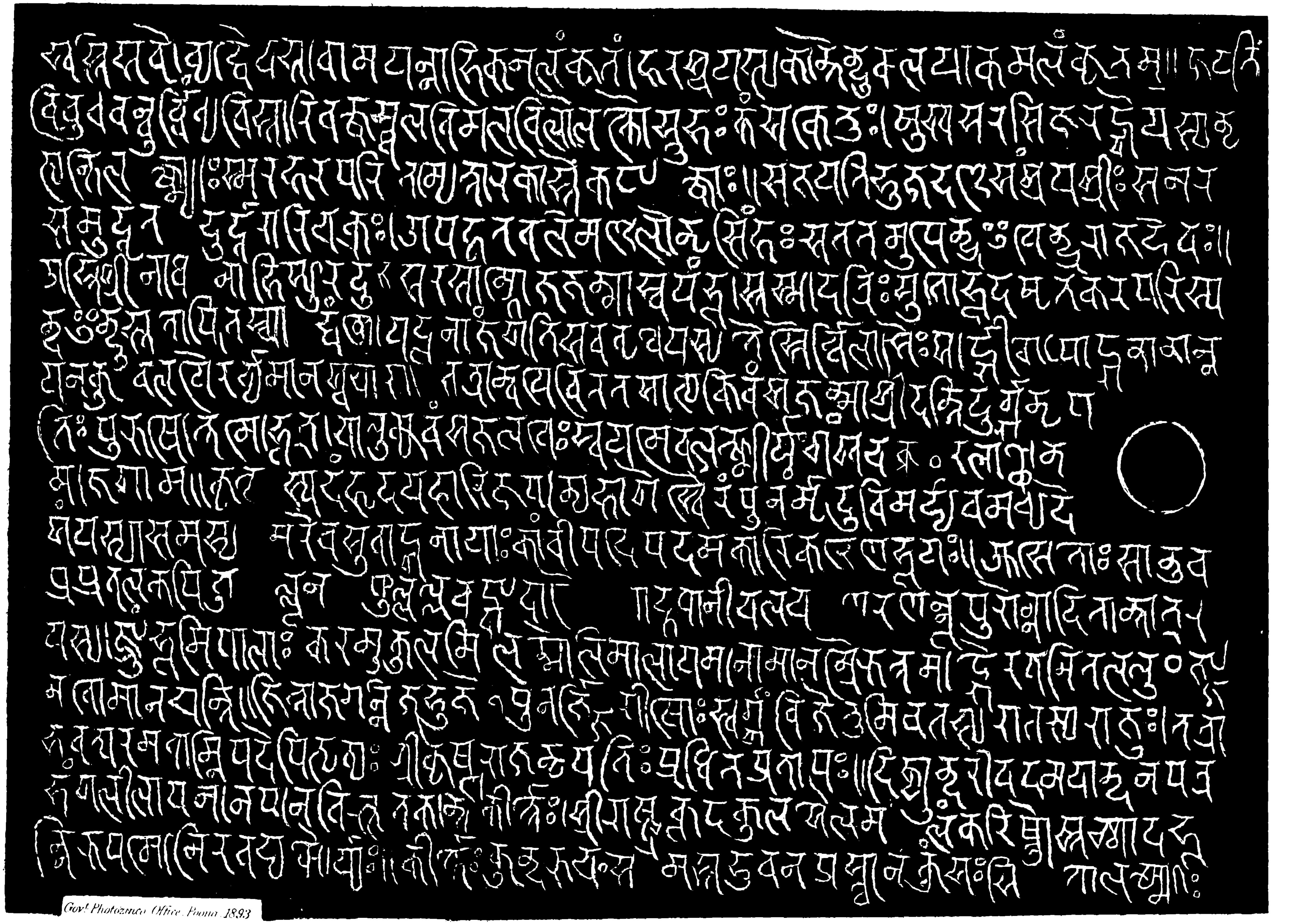






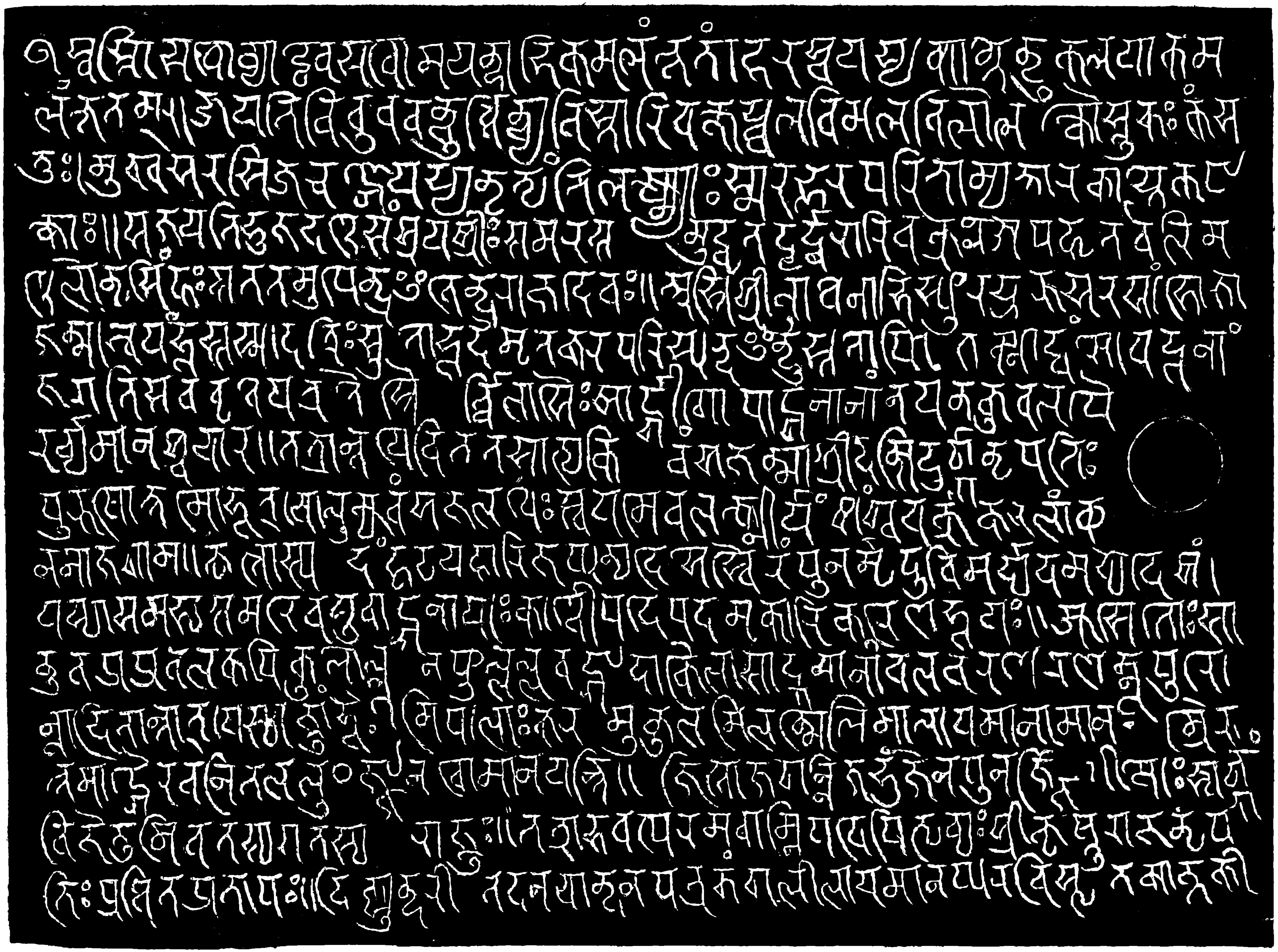
Navsari grant of the Râshtrakûta prince Indra Nityavarsha, dated Saka 836.– A.

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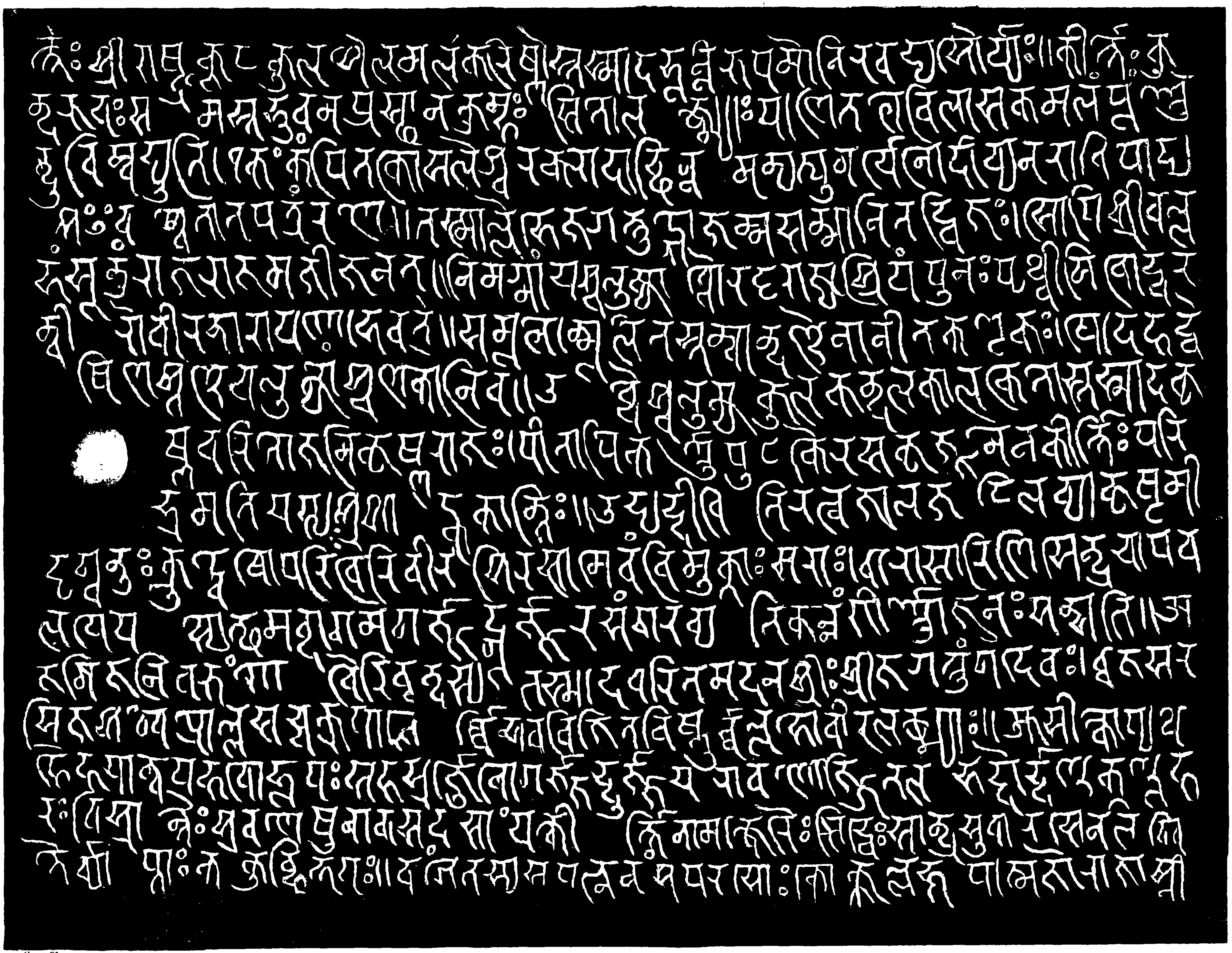
Navsari grant of the Râshtrakûta prince Indra Nityavarsha, dated Śáka 836_B.

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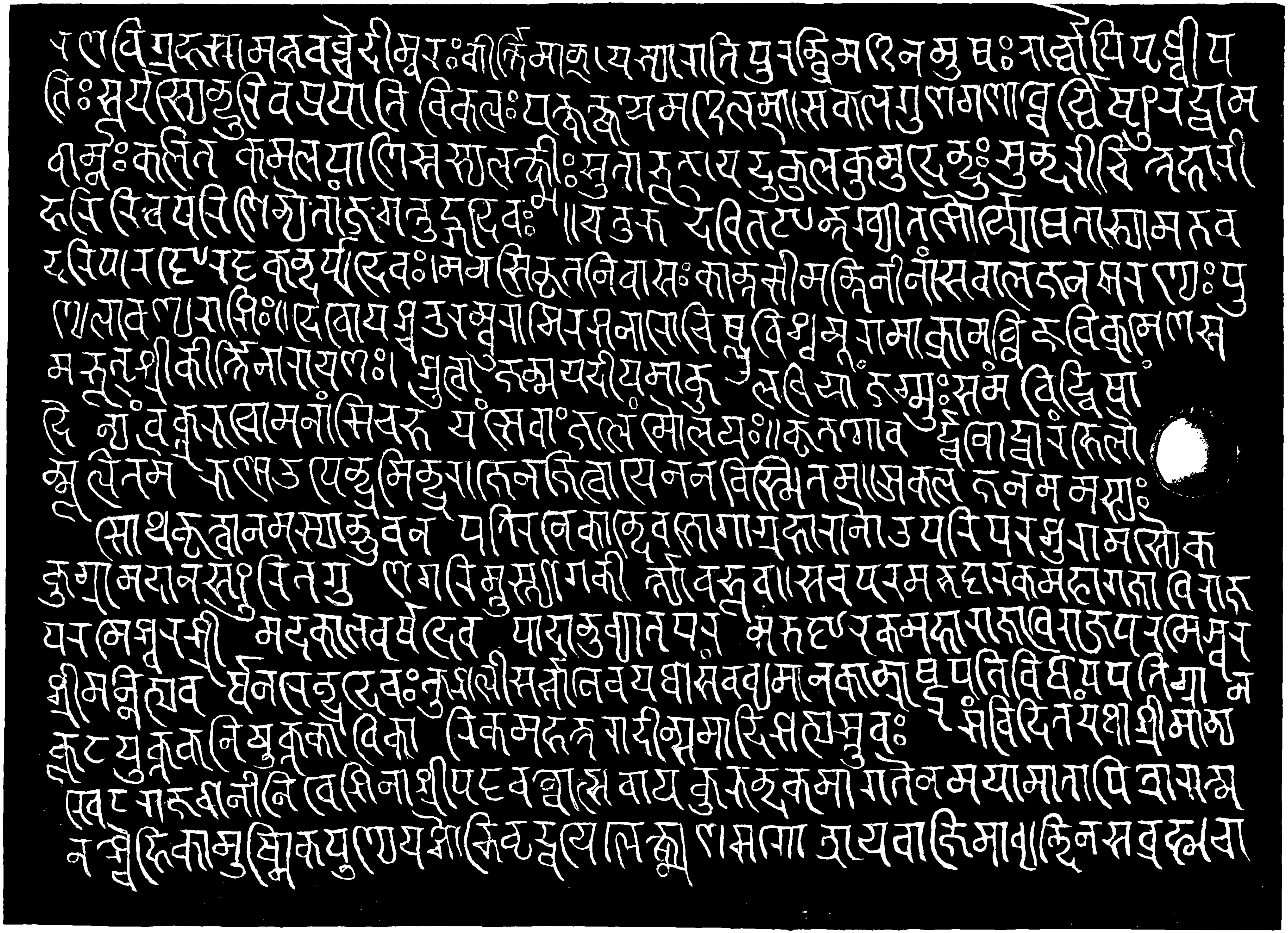
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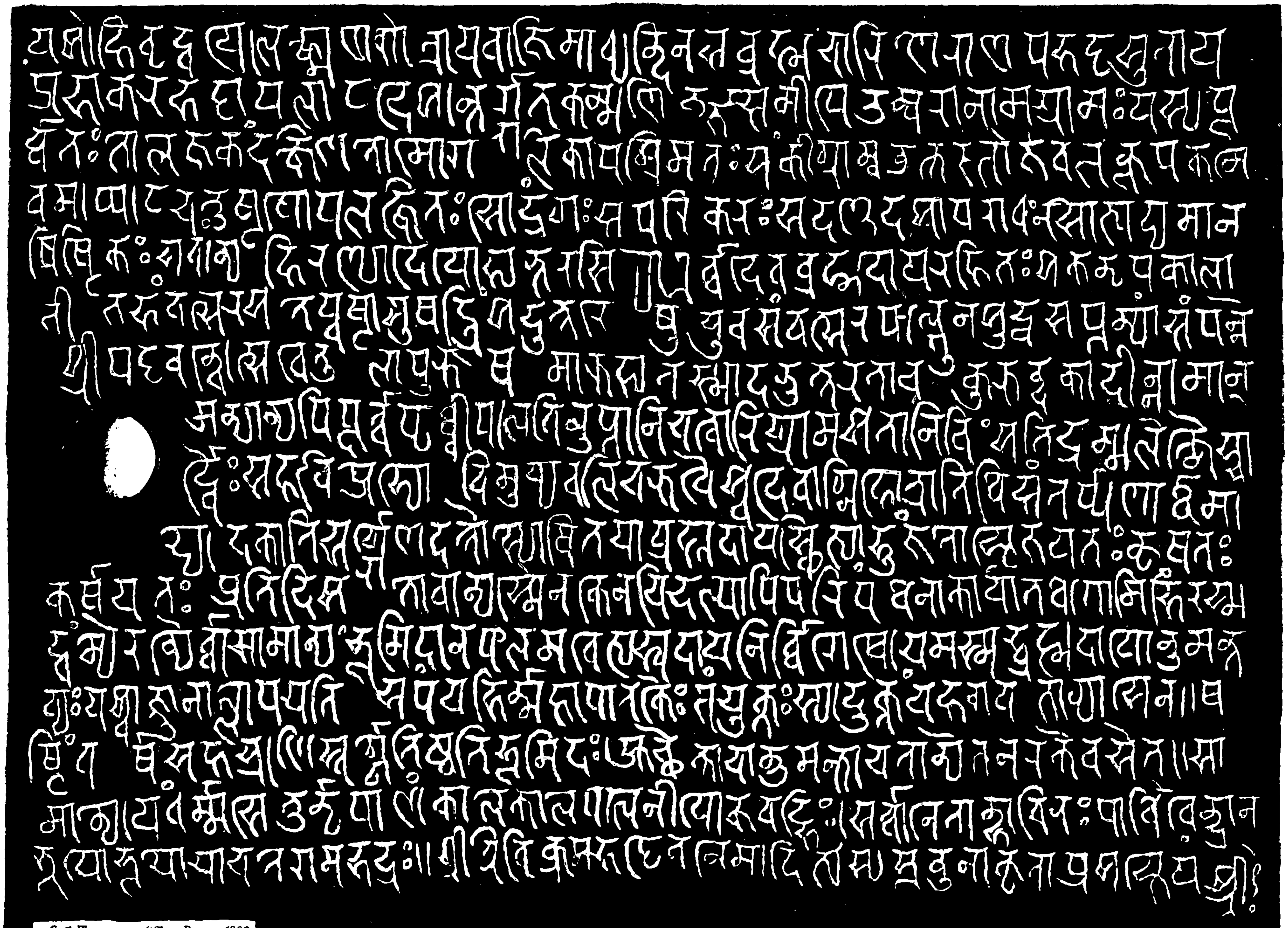


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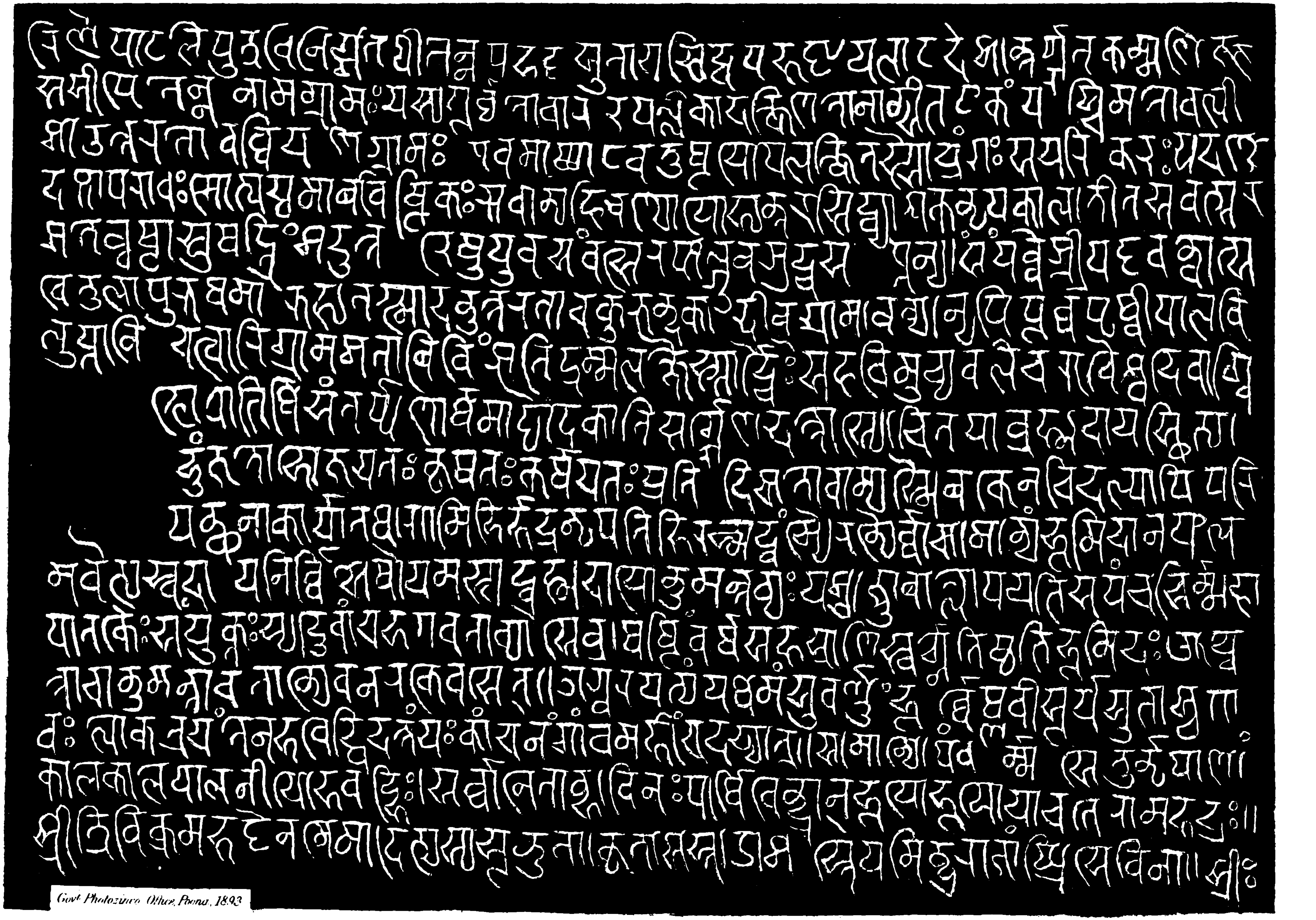
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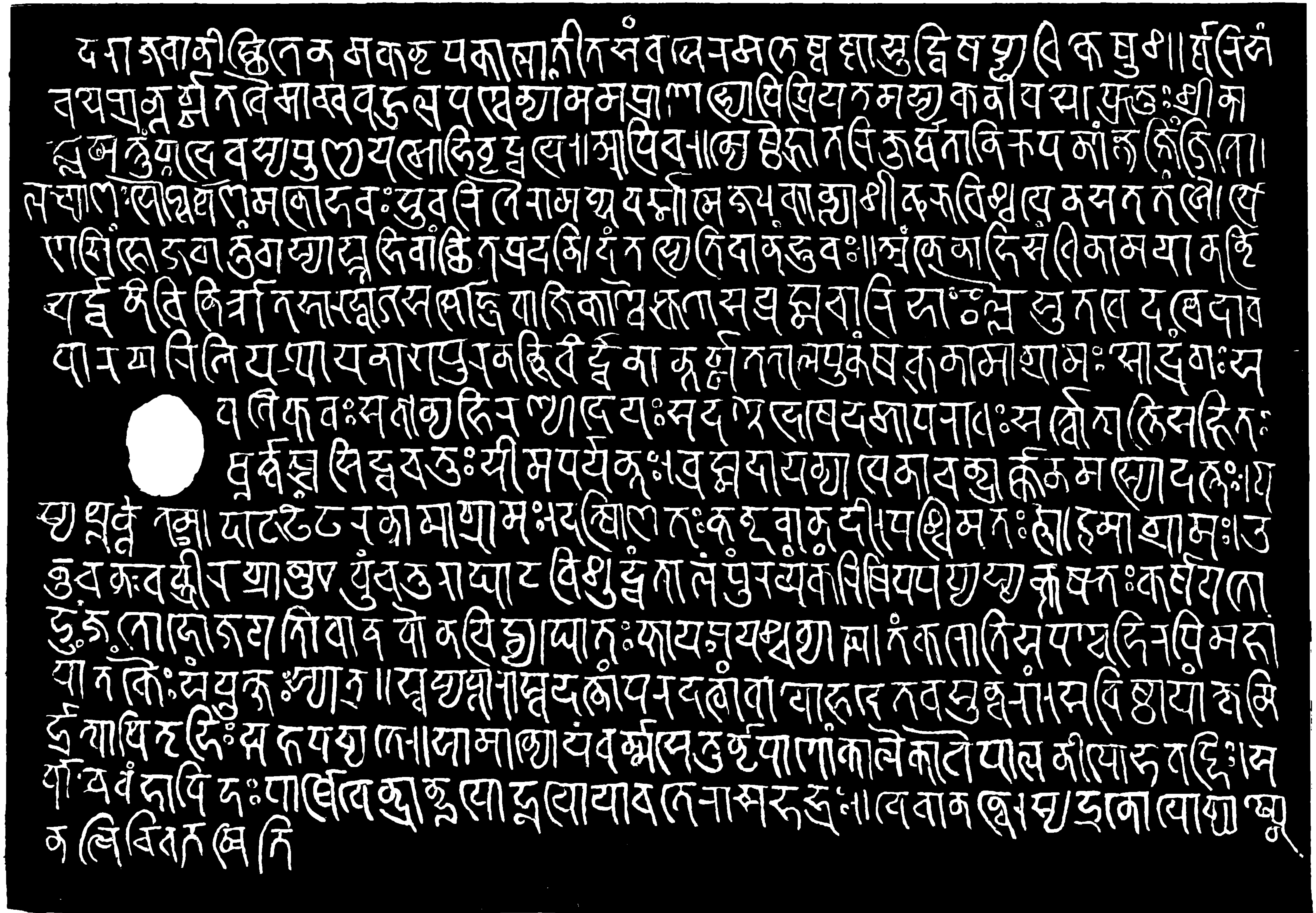
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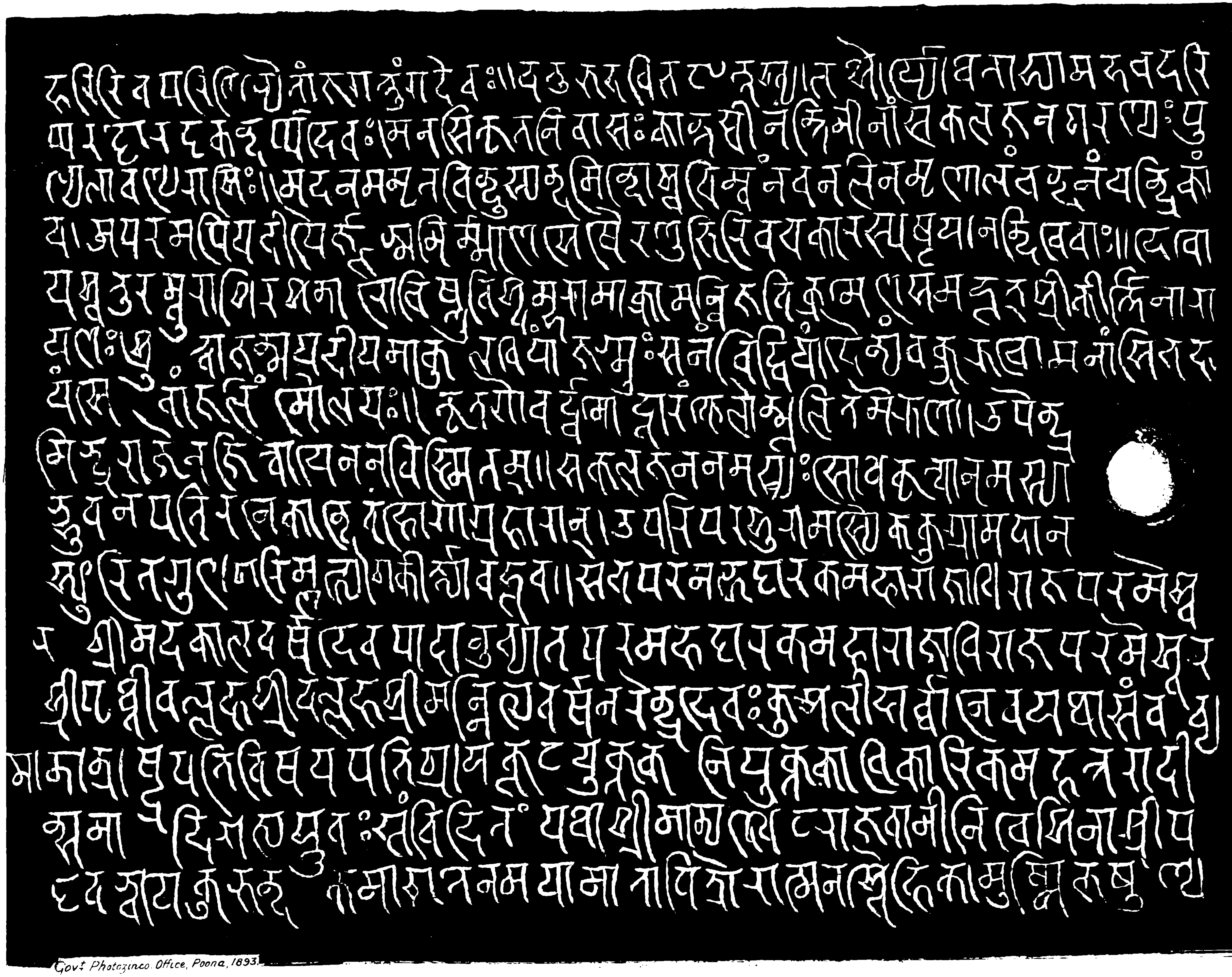
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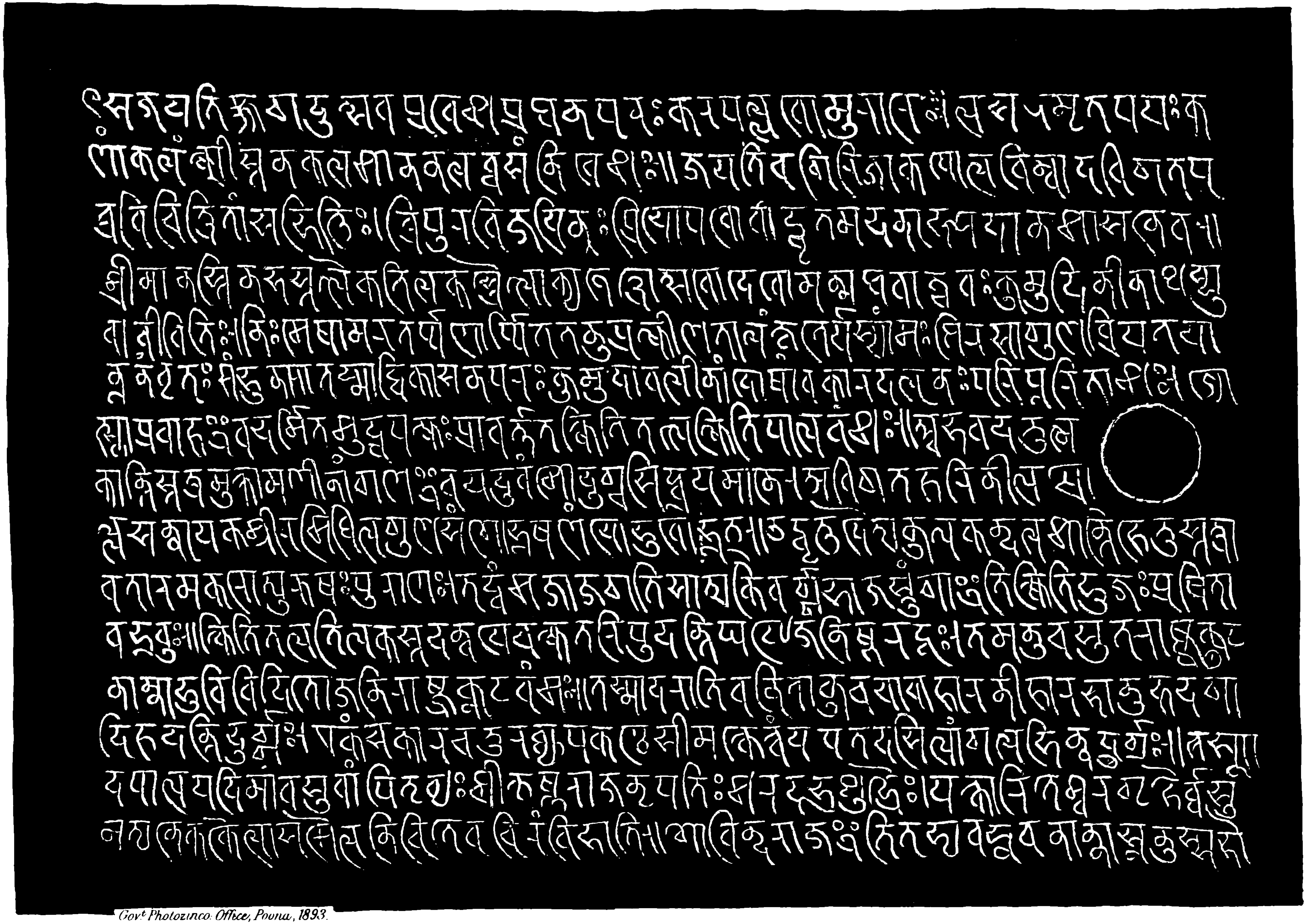
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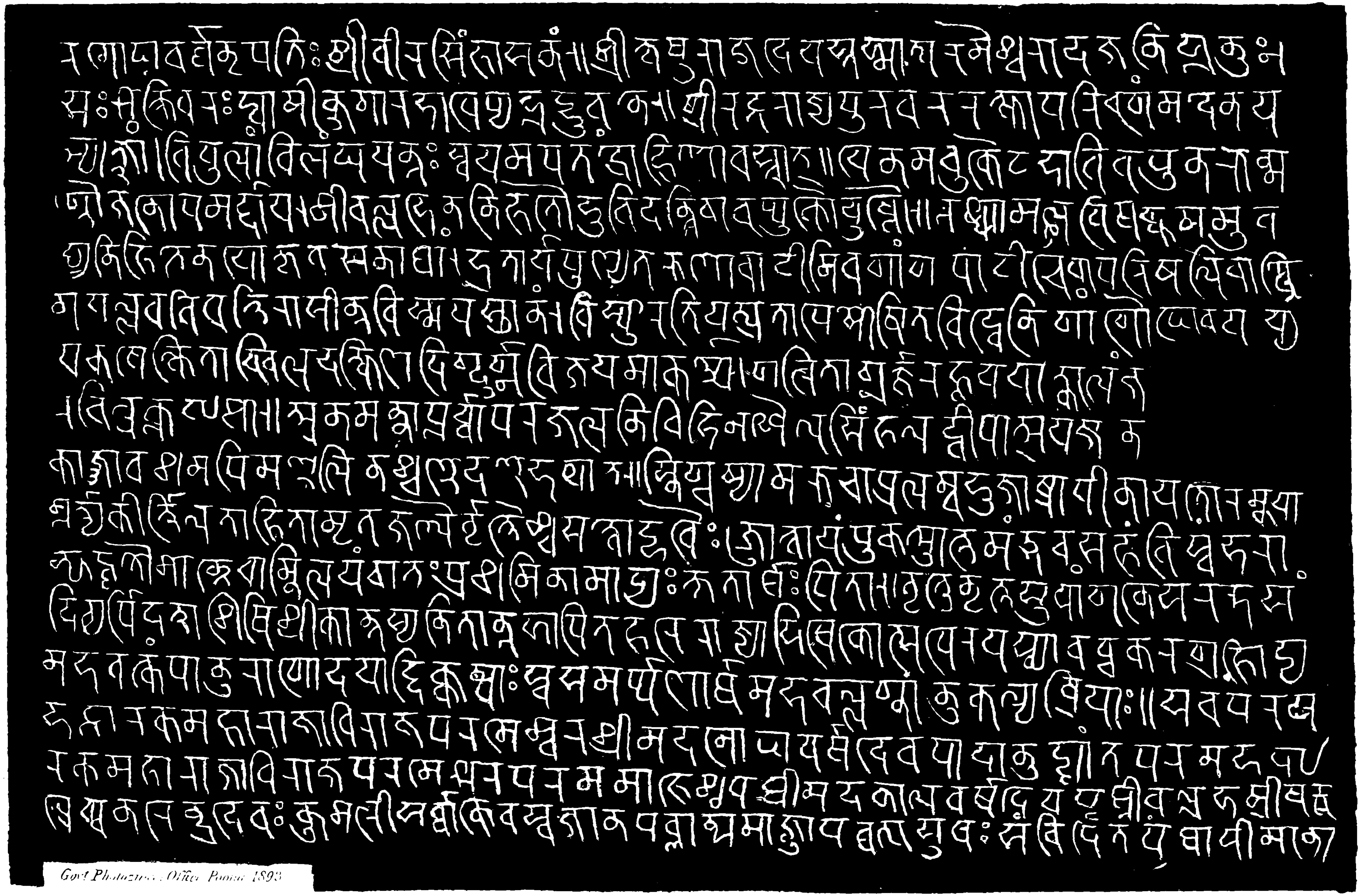
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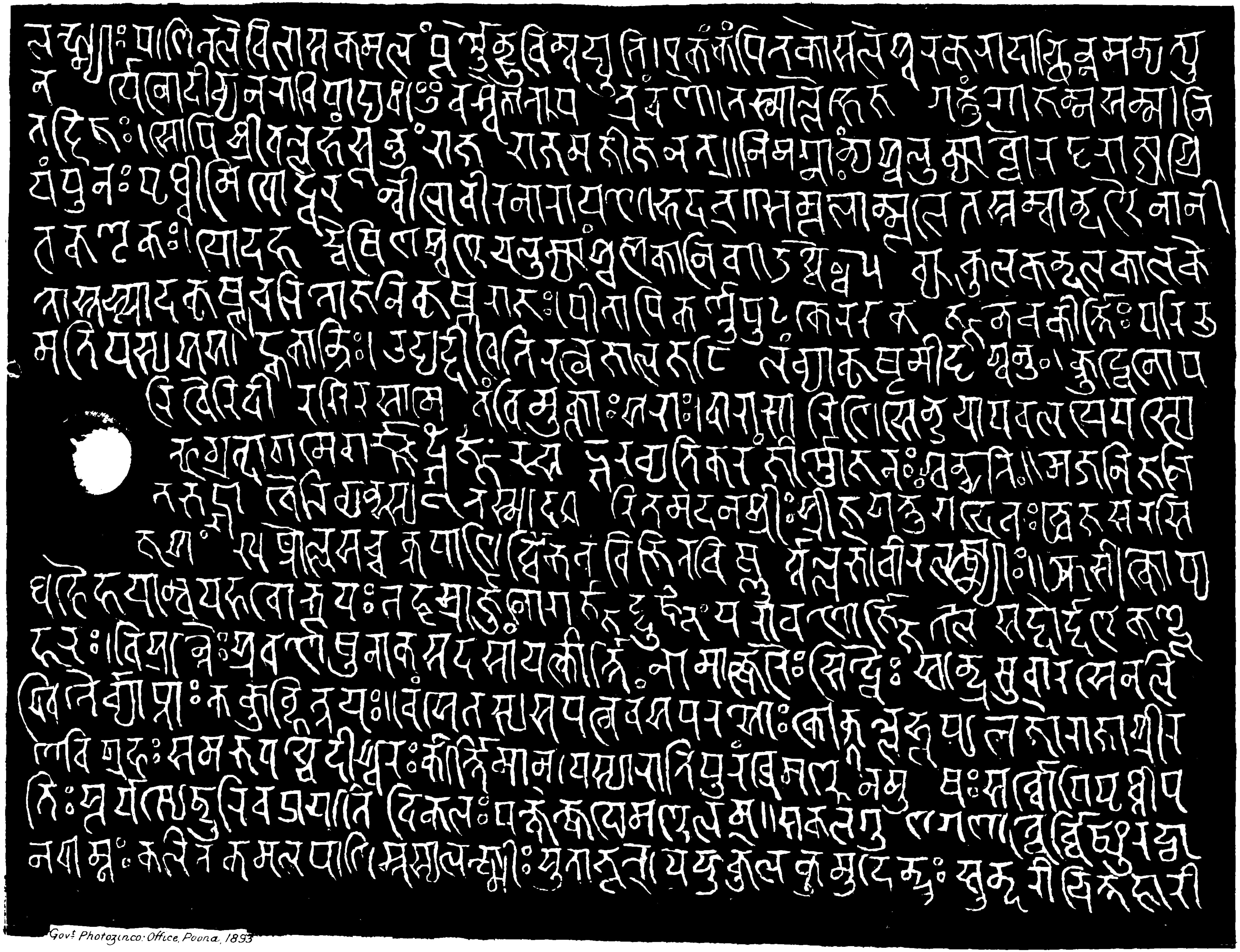
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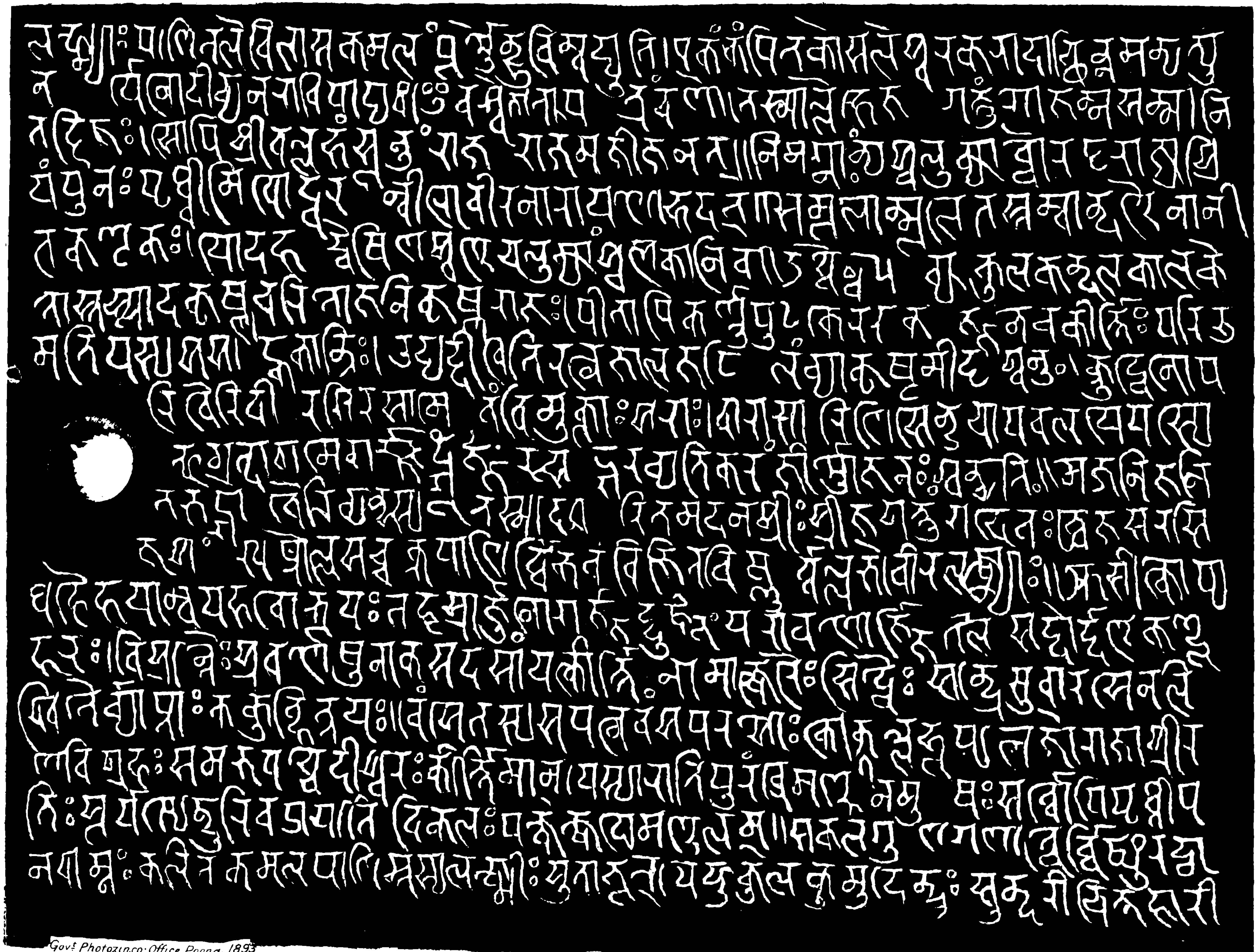
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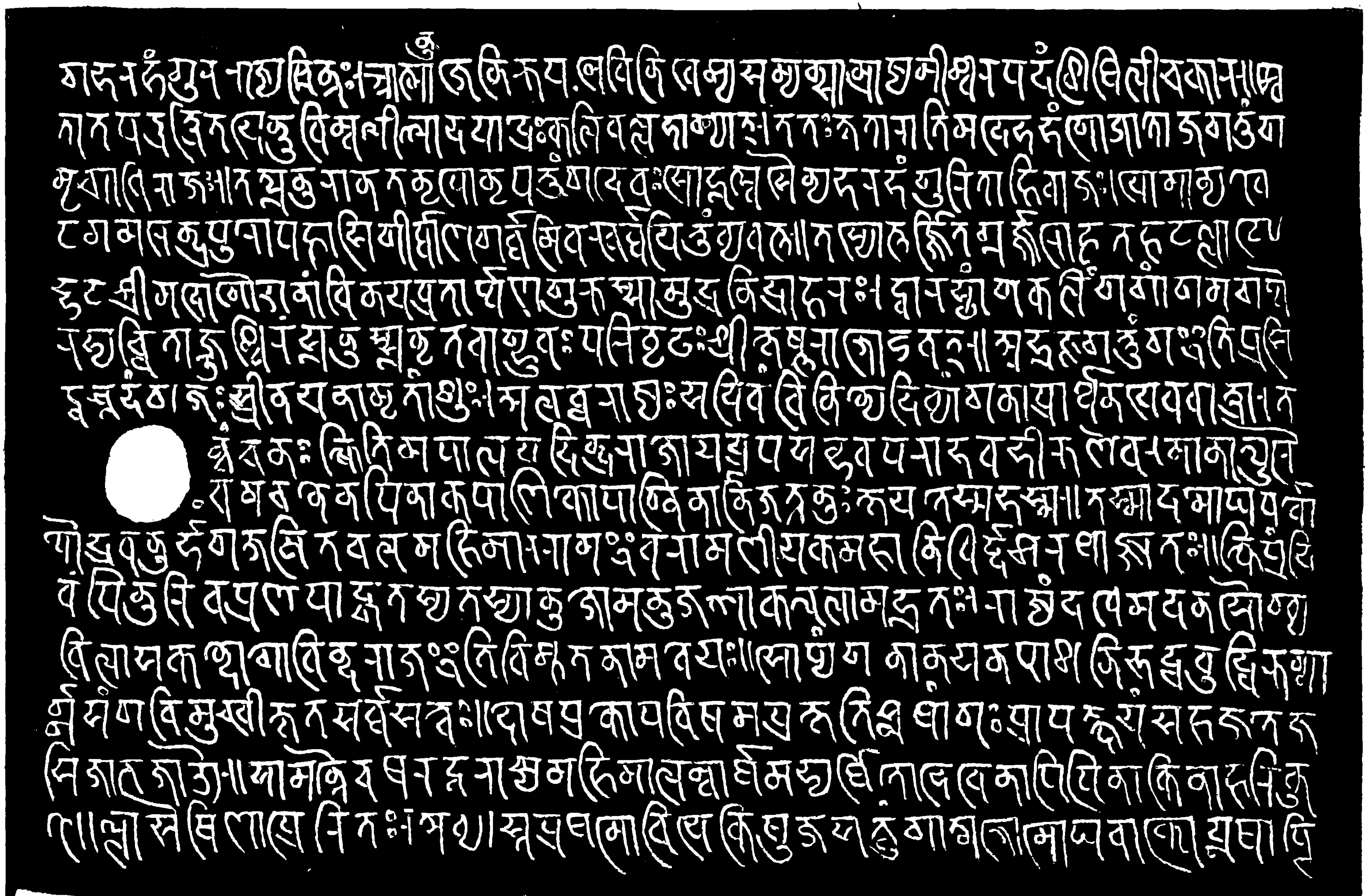
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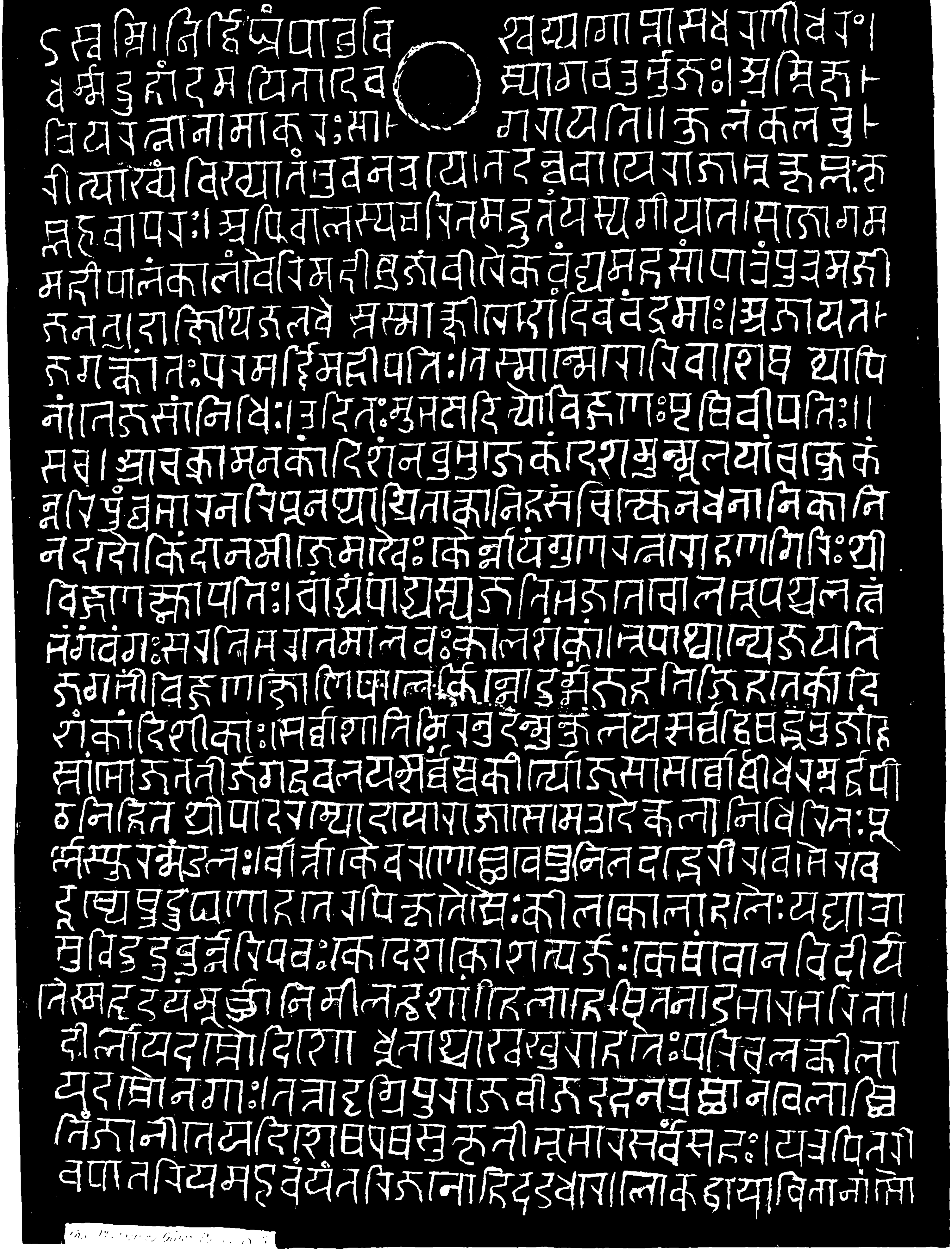
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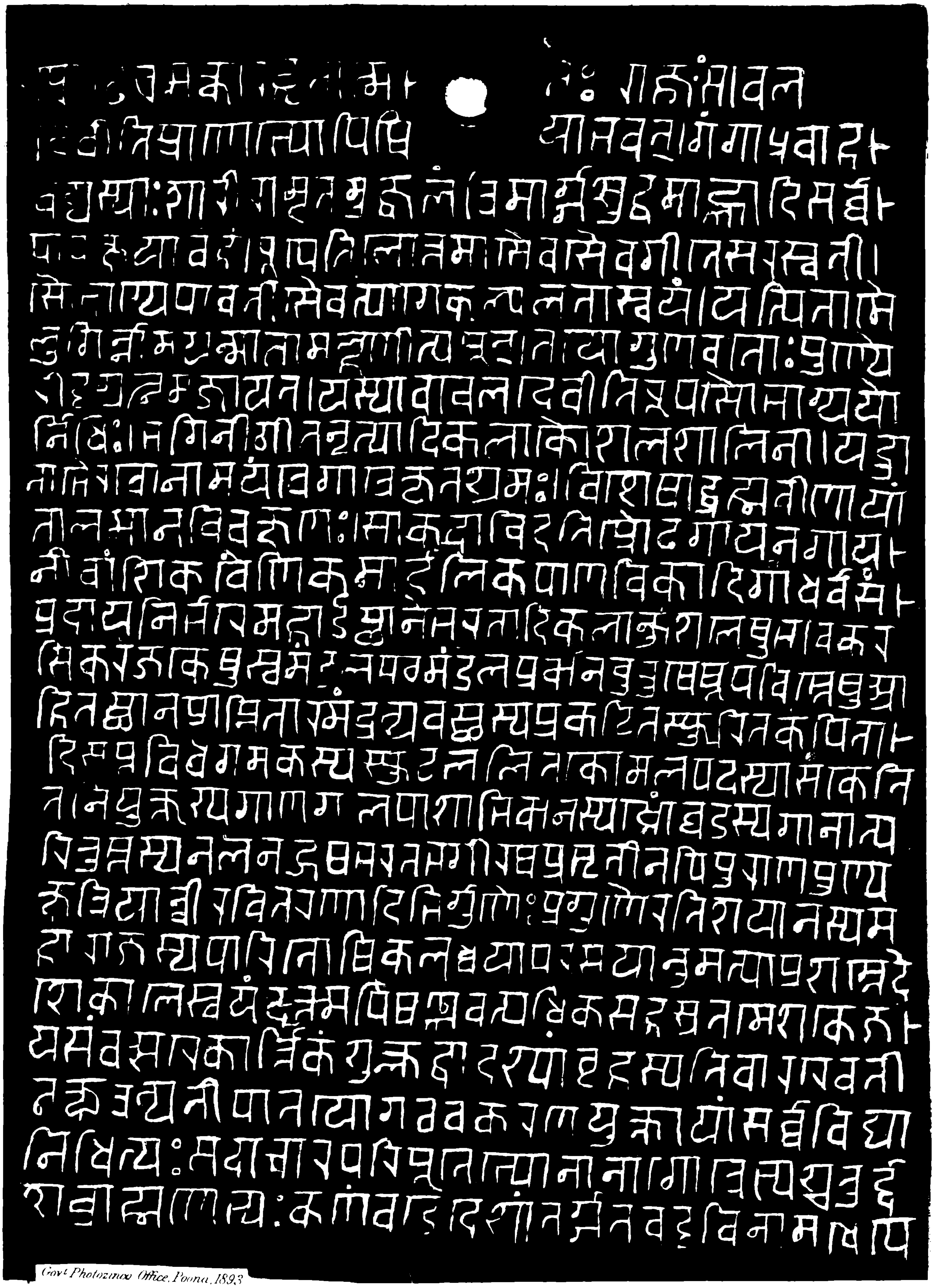


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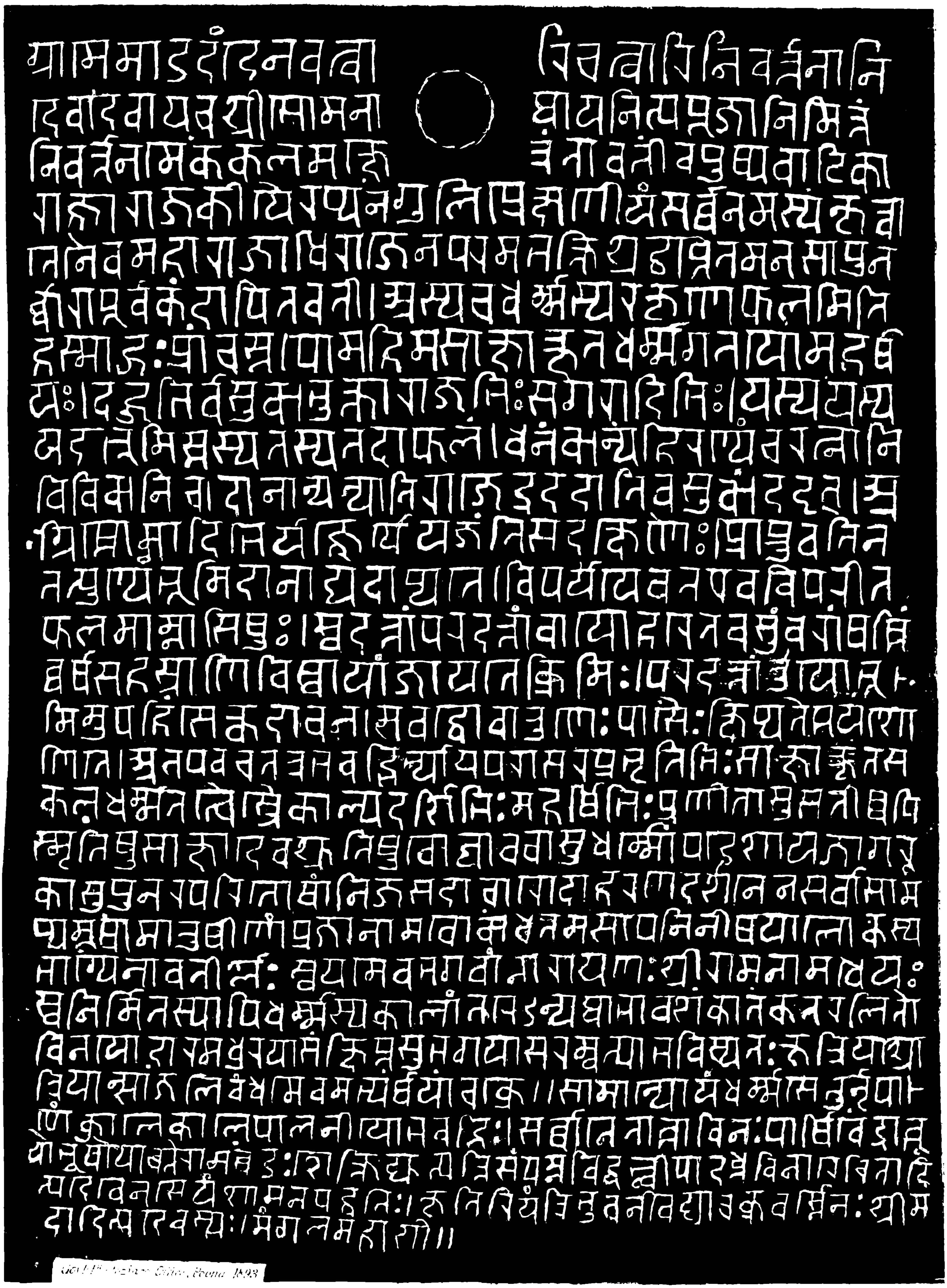


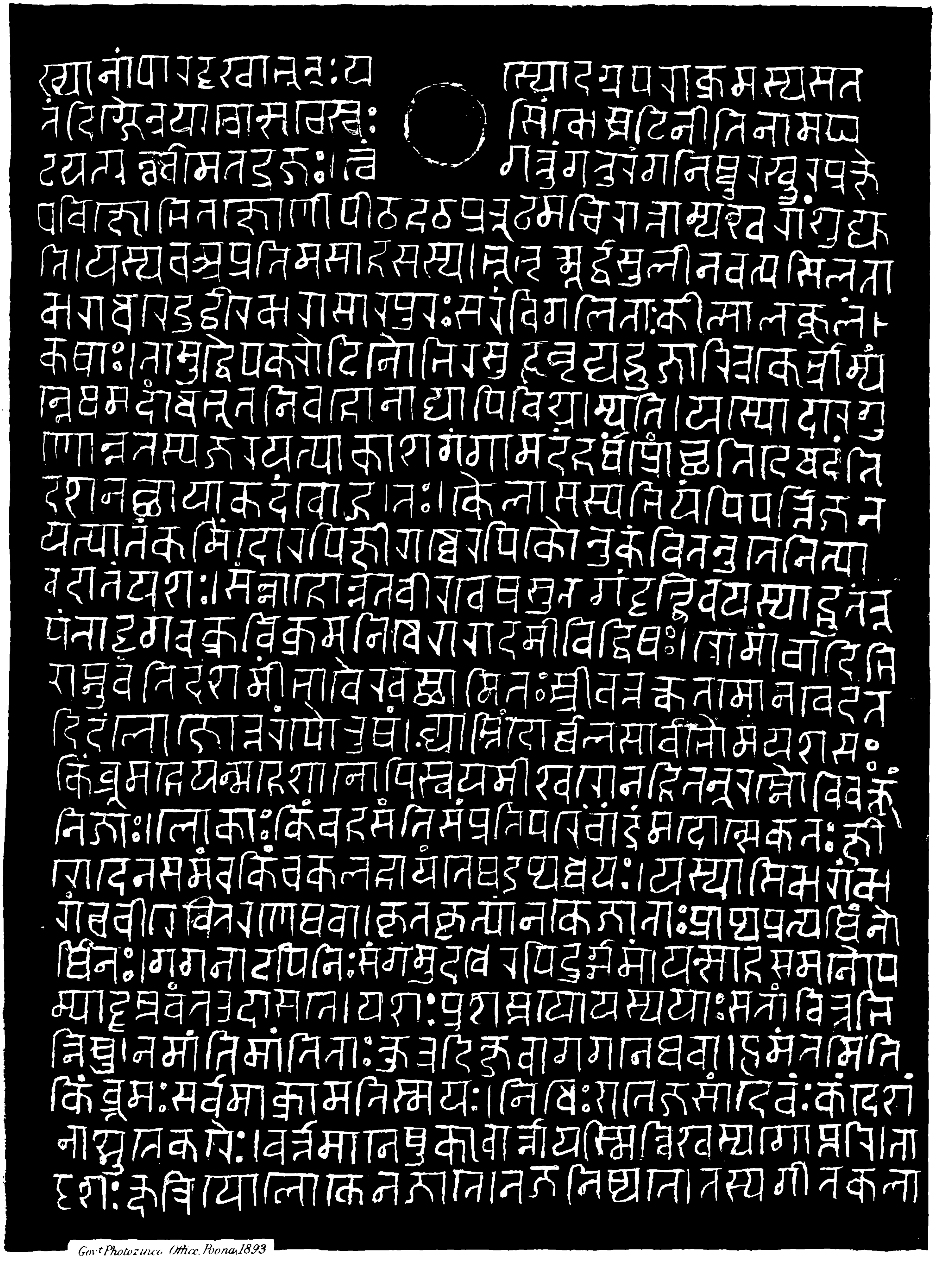
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ART. XIX.—*The Irish Story of Cucullin and Conloch and the Persian Story of Rustam and Sohrâb.* By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, ESQ., B. A.

[Read, 18th November 1892.]

There are several episodes in Firdousi's great epic of the Persians, which present striking points of resemblance to similar episodes in the epics of other nations. In 1887 Prof. Darmesteter, of Paris, drew the attention of our Society to the Mahâbhârata episode of the renunciation of the throne by Yudhishthira and his ascension to Heaven, and said that it had its origin in the similar episode of king Kaikhoshroo in the Shâh-nâmeh. We know that our learned president had then entered a mild caveat against the conclusions arrived at by the French savant. This caveat has drawn forth in defence a learned paper from the pen of the French savant, entitled "Points de Contact entre le Mahâbhârata et le Shâh-nâmeh" read before the Asiatic Society of Paris (Journal Asiatique, 1887, II., p. 38-75). In this paper the author has entered at great length into the points touched upon by him before our Society, in order to support his theory about the Persian origin of the Indian episode. Whatever be the view as to the country where the story of the episode had its origin, M. Darmesteter has clearly pointed out several points of striking resemblance between the Persian episode of Kaikhoshroo on the one hand, and the Indian episode of Yudhishthira and the Jewish episode of Enoch on the other. In 1889, my friend, Mr. Pallonjee Burjorjee Desai, of Bombay, in a public lecture delivered before the Gujarâti Dnyân Prasârak Mandli, pointed out several points of striking resemblance between the Persian episode of Homâe, Behe-âfrid and Arjâsp in the Shâh-nâmeh on the one hand and the Indian episode of Sitâ and Râvan in the Râmâyan and the Greek episode of Helen and Paris in the Iliad on the other[1]. My last paper before our Society on "The so-called Pehelvi origin of the story of the Sindibâd-nâmeh," led to show that there was a striking resemblance between the Persian story of Kâus, Soudâbeh and Siâvakhsh in the Shâh-nâmeh and the Indian story of the King, the Damsel, and the Prince in the Sindibâd-nâmeh. All these stories show that

[1] શાહાનામા મધેનું એક દાસ્તાન, અને રામાયણ તથા ઈલ્યડની વાર્તાઓ સાથ તેની સરખામણી. જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક મંડળી સને ૧૮૮૮–૮૯ ના મોસમના ભાષણો. ભાષણ છઠું.

several Persian stories of the Shâh-nâmeh have their parallels in the epics of the East and the West. My paper this evening treats of a similar subject. It is intended to compare an episode in the Persian epic with that in an Irish epic.

M. Mohl, in the preface to his French translation of the Shâh-nâmeh, was the first to allude to this resemblance. He said, "Miss Brooke a découvert, en Irlande deux très-anciennes ballades dont le fond offre une resemblance étonnante avec l'histoire de Sohrâb." In this paper I have tried to point out the "resemblance étonnante" in all its details. The two ballads referred to by M. Mohl are "Conloch, a Poem" and "The Lamentation of Cucullin over the body of his son Conloch." They are given by Miss Brooke in her "Reliques of Irish Poetry" published in 1789.

I will first narrate here the Irish story in the words of Mr. O'Halloran, the writer of the introduction to the Poem of Conloch. "In the reign of Conor Mac-Nessa, King of Ulster (about the year of the world 3950), Ireland abounded in heroes of the most shining intrepidity; insomuch that they were all over Europe, by way of eminence, called the Heroes of the Western Isle. Amongst these were Cuchullin, the son of Śualthach ; Conal Cearach, and the three sons of Uisneach, Naoise, Ainle and Ardan, all cousins-german. Cuchullin in one of his continental expeditions, returning home by way of Albany, or modern Scotland, fell in love at Dun-Sgathach, with the beautiful Aife, daughter to Airdgenny. The affairs of his country calling him home, he left the lady pregnant ; but, on taking leave, he directed, in case his child should be a son, to have him carefully brought up to arms, at the academy of Dun-Sgathach. He gave her a chain of gold to be put round his neck, and desired that he should be sent to Ulster, as soon as his military studies were completed, and that he should there recognize him by means of the golden chain. He also left the following injunctions for his conduct: that he should never reveal his name to a foe ; that he should not give the way to any man who seemed to demand it as right; and that he should never decline the single combat with any knight under the sun.

The youth (his education completed) came to Ireland to seek his father ; but it appears that he arrived in armour ; a manifest proof, according to the etiquette of those days, that he came with an hostile intention, and to look for occasions to signalize his valour. On his approaching Emania, the royal residence of the Ulster kings, and

of the Croabh-ruadh, or Ulster knights, Conor sent a herald to know who he was? A direct answer, and he armed, would have been improper; it would have been an acknowledgment of timidity: In short, the question was only a challenge; and his being asked to pay an eric or tribute, implied no more than that he should confess the superiority of the Ulster knights. On his refusal to answer the question, Cuchullin appeared: they engaged, and the latter, hard-pressed, threw a spear with such direction at the young hero, as to wound him mortally. The dying youth then acknowledged himself his son, and that he fell in obedience to the injunctions of his mother. It appears, however, from the poem, that when Cuchullin left her those injunctions, he was far from expecting that his son should have put them in force upon his arrival in Ireland."

Now I will narrate briefly the story of Rustam and Sohrâb as given by Firdousi in his Shâh-nâmeh. In the reign of Kâus, Rustam, the great general of the king, went a-hunting one day in the forests near the country of Samangân. Teheminâ, the daughter of the Prince of Samangân fell in love with him and Rustam married her. On preparing to leave her country for his native land of Irân, he found her *enciente*. He then gave her a (مهره) Mohrêh (a kind of precious jewel), with instructions that in case his child should be a daughter, she should fasten it on her ringlets, but in case it should be a son he should fasten it on one of his arms. A son being born, Tehemina named him Sohrâb, and fastened the jewel on one of his arms. Sohrâb grew up to be a brave and manly young man, eager to seek glory and fame in war, against the rulers of Turân and Irân. Afrasiâb of Turân, the enemy of the Irânian King, Kâus, won him over to his side, and placed him at the head of a large army to invade Irân. He sent his two generals, Houmân and Barmân, with the army under Sohrâb, with strict instructions that they must always take care that Sohrâb should not know his father Rustam. The invading army marched to the Daz-i-Sapheed, *i.e.*, the white fortress which stood over the borderland between Turân and Irân. Hajir, the commander of the fort, fell a prisoner in the hands of Sohrâb. Gordâfrid, a brave and gallant sister of Hajir, then put on the armour of a man, and took the field against Sohrâb. In the heat of the fight in a single combat, her helmet fell off and revealed her to Sohrâb as a woman. Sohrâb being struck with her beauty, wanted to make her a captive, but she succeeded in making her escape by means of sweet

tempting words. The next day Sohrâb found the fort deserted because Gordâfrid and the other occupants of the fort had left it by a subterranean passage. Sohrâb then marched further on to Irân. Kâus hearing of the fall of the fortress of Daz-i-Sapheed and the march of Sohrâb, sent for his great general Rustam, who lived in Zaboulistân. On coming to the Court of the king, Rustam was strongly reprimanded by Kâus, for being dilatory in obeying his orders. Rustam indignantly left the Court, and returned to his country. The successful march of Sohrâb had struck terror into the hearts of all Persians, and the counsellors of the king advised him to be conciliatory and to send again for Rustam, who alone was able to stand against the successful march of Sohrâb and his army. Rustam returned to the Court and took the field against Sohrâb. In the meantime Sohrâb, who had never previously seen his father Rustam, tried his best to gather from Hajir, the Irânian prisoner under his charge, the particulars about the tent and the whereabouts of Rustam. But Hajir did not give him any correct information, lest Sohrâb should take some foul means to do away with the Irânian general and thus succeed in overthrowing the Irânian rule. Again, it was for the interest of Houmân and Bârmân, the Turânian officers with Sohrâb, not to let him know who and where his father was. So the father and the son, not knowing each other, met in a single combat on the battle field. Sohrâb, out of filial affection, suspected his antagonist to be his father, Rustam, and so asked his name. But Rustam evaded the question and did not disclose his name. In the subsequent fight Rustam fell to the ground and Sohrâb raised his dagger to kill him, but Rustam persuaded young Sohrâb, who was ignorant of the wiles and tricks of war, to postpone his killing him till he was thrown down on the ground for the third time. The next day Rustam succeeded in throwing Sohrâb to the ground, and he, instead of waiting for the third fight, at once stabbed Sohrâb with his dagger. Sohrâb in his dying words found fault with the treachery of his antagonist, and said that his father Rustam, when he would come to know of his treacherous conduct, was sure to revenge his death. The mention of the name of Rustam, as that of his father, soon made Rustam discover his mistake, but it was too late. Sohrâb showed him the jewel on his arm to assure him of his being Rustam's son. Rustam then began to lament and curse himself, and sent Goudrez to Kâus to ask from him (نوشدارو) nosh dâru, a solution to heal dagger

wounds, but he could not get it. Sohrâb soon died of the mortal wound on the battle field, and the grief of Rustam was indescribable. Tehemina, the mother of Sohrâb, soon learnt of the sad fate of her beloved son, and died of grief and sorrow within a year after Sohrâb's death.

Thus we find that the Irish and Persian stories resemble a good deal in the principal facts, of a son and a father fighting with each other in ignorance, and of the son being killed by the hand of his father. We will now note here a few points of striking resemblance in some of the details of the stories.

1. Both the generals fall in love with princesses far away from their native countries. Cucullin, the Irish general, falls in love with Aife, daughter to Airdgenny, in the country of Albany. Rustam, the Irânian general, falls in love with Tehemina, the daughter of the King of Samangân, in the country of Turân.

2. Both leave with their wives precious ornaments to be put on by their expected children for the sake of recognition. Cucullin leaves a golden chain for the purpose; Rustam a Mohrêh or a kind of jewel.

3. In both the stories, the sons, when they come to age, march with large armies against the countries under whose kings their fathers serve as generals.

4. In both the stories, the sons before fighting with their fathers fight with and take captive other heroes. Sohrâb fights with and takes prisoner Hajir, the commander of the fortress of Daz-i-Sapheed, situated on the borderland between Turân and Irân. Conloch, in the Irish story, fights with and takes prisoner Conall Cearnach, the master of the Ulster kings.

5. On seeing the defeat of their eminent generals both the kings send for their heroes who stand first in rank. Kâus, the King of Irân, sends for his hero, Rustam, who lives in his country of Zaboulistân. Conor, the king of Ulster, sends for his hero, Cucullin, who lives in his fortress of Dundalgan. Conor orders (p. 12):

"Quick let a rapid courier fly!
(Indignant Auliffe cried,)
Quick with the shameful tidings let him hie,
And to our aid the first of heroes call,
From fair Dundalgan's lofty wall,
Or Dethin's ancient pride!"

Compare with this the Irânian king's words to his messenger Giv. "Go fast. Handle well the reins of your horse. When you go to Rustam, you need not rest in Zâboul even if you feel drowsy. If you arrive there at night, turn back the next morning. Tell him (Rustam) that we are reduced to straitened circumstances in war. If this brave man will not come forward, we cannot treat with contempt this evil-minded enemy."[1]

6. Both the heroes, Cucullin and Rustam, make a little delay in responding to the call of their sovereign. Conor, the Irish King, welcomes his general, Cucullin, though late:—

"Welcome, Cucullin! mighty chief!
Though late, O welcome to thy friend's relief!
Behold the havoc of yon deadly blade!
Behold our hundred warriors bite the ground!
Behold thy friend, thy Conall bound!
Behold nor be thy vengeful arm delayed!"

Kâus, the Irânian King, at first gets angry at the delay and gives vent to his anger, which makes Rustam leave his court indignantly. But, when looking to the situation of imminent danger from the invading enemy, he sends for Rustam again, and when the latter being prevailed upon by the call of duty to his country, returns to the court of the king, he is welcomed as follows:

"Through the terror caused by this thoughtless new enemy, my heart was as much reduced as the new moon. I sent for you to find out a remedy for this. And when you came late I got angry. But O elephant-bodied hero! if you were offended, I repented of it, and filled my mouth with dust of repentance . . . . . O hero!

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[1] بگیو آنگہی گفت بشتاب زود
عنانِ تکاور بباید بسود
نبایدَ که چون نزد رستم شوی
بزابل بمانی وگر بغنوی
اگر شب رسی روز را باز گرد
بگویش که تنگ اندر آمد نبرد
وگرنہ فرازست این مرد گرد
بد اندیش را خوار نتوان شمرد

Vullers, I., p. 461-62.

may your soul be always bright. It seems advisable that to-day we meet in an assembly of pleasure and to-morrow arrange for the battle."[1]

7. As seen above, we learn from the Shâh-nâmeh that the Irânian general, Rustam, had a cause to be offended against king Kâus, and that it was after reconciliation that he went to war against Sohrâb. From the Irish story also we learn that the Irish general, Cucullin, also had a cause to be offended against king Conor, and that it was after "a kind of sullen reconciliation" that he took arms against the new invader, Conloch. But the causes of the offence were different. In the Irânian story, it was the delay of Rustam in responding to the immediate call of his sovereign. In the case of the Irish story, it was the breach of faith on the part of the king, who (in order to prevent the fulfilment of a prediction) had ordered a few of Cucullin's kinsmen to be murdered, because one of them had married a beautiful girl, whom the king had guarded in a fortress, to frustrate the prophecy, that she would bring ruin to the house of Ulster.

8. In both the stories the generals leave the courts with anger on account of the unbecoming conduct of their sovereigns, and at first refuse to go to war against the enemies, but at last better counsels and

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[1] وزین نا سگالیده بدخواه تو
دلم گشت باریک چون ماه نو
بدین چاره جستن ترا خواستم
چو دیر آمدی تندی آراستم
چو آزرده گشتی تو ای پیلتن
پشیمان شدم خاکم اندر دهن
....
چنین گفت کاوس کای پهلوان
ترا باد پیوسته روشن روان
چنین بهتر آید که امروز بزم
بسازیم و فردا گزینیم رزم

Vuller, p. 471-72.

a call to duty prevail. Conor, the Ulster king, thus persuades Cucullin to change his mind, and withdraw his refusal:—

"And wilt thou then decline the fight,
  O arm of Erin's fame!
Her glorious, her unconquered knight,
  Her first and fav'rite name!
No, brave Cucullin! mighty chief
  Of bright victorious steel!
Fly to thy Conor, to thy friend's relief,
  And teach the foe superior force to feel!"

Goudrez, the minister of the Persian king, thus persuades Rustam to change his mind, and to take arms for the sake of his king and his country.

"Do not turn your back thus on the Shâh of Irân. By such a retreat, do not disgrace your name which has been so much exalted in the whole of the world. And now, when the army (of the enemy) presses upon us, do not darken unwisely (the future of) this crown and this throne, because disgrace comes to us from the land of Turân. Our holy religion will not approve of this.[1]

9. As Cucullin in the Irish story is an "unconquered" knight, so is Rustam of the Persian story an unconquered hero. No hero had ever thrown him down upon the ground in a single combat.

10. According to both the stories the aged general (the father),

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[1] ز سهراب یل رفت یکسر سخن
چنین پشت بر شاه ایران مکن
چنین برشده نامت اندر جهان
بدین بازگشتن مگردان نهان
و دیگر که تنگ اندر آمد سپاه
مکن تیره برخیره این تاج و گاه
که ننگست بر ما ز توران زمین
پسنده نباشد بر پاک دین

Fuller, I., p. 471.

before beginning the combat makes, to his young antagonist (the son), an offer of peace. In the Irish story Cucullin says to Conloch:

"Let me, O valiant knight, (he cried)
Thy courtesy request!
To me thy purpose, and thy name confide,
And what thy lineage and thy land declare?
Do not my friendly hand refuse,
And proffer'd peace decline;—
Yet if thou wilt the doubtful combat choose,
The combat then, O fair-hair'd youth! be thine!".

In the Persian story Rustam pities Sohrâb, and asks him to desert the side of Turân and go over to that of Irân. He says:

"My heart pities you, and I do not like to deprive you of your life. Do not remain in the company of the Turks. I know of none in Irân who is your equal in having such shoulders and arms."[1]

11. According to both the stories, when the two generals (father and son) meet for a single combat, the first thing they do is that one of them puts to the other a question about his name and parentage, and the other evades the question. In the Irish story it is Cucullin, the father, that puts the question, and it is Conloch, the son, that evades it. But in the Persian story it is Sohrâb, the son, that puts the question, and Rustam, the father, that evades it. Cucullin says to Conloch:

"To me thy purpose and thy name confide,
And what thy lineage and thy land declare?"

Conloch then refuses to give any information and to accept the offer of peace.

"Never shall aught so base as fear
The hero's bosom sway!
Never, to please a curious ear,
Will I my fame betray!
No, gallant chief! I will to none
My name, my purpose, or my birth reveal;
Nor even from thee the combat will I shun,
Strong though thine arm appear, and tried thy martial steel."

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[1] همی رحمت آرد بتو بر دلم
نخواهم که جانت زتن بگسلم
نمانی بترکان بدین یال و سفت
به ایران ندانم ترا نیز جفت

Vuller, I., p. 488.

Sohrâb, who suspects his antagonist to be his father, Rustam, thus questions him:

"I ask you a question, you must tell me the truth. Tell me plainly, what is your parentage? Please my heart with your good words. I suspect that you are Rustam, that you are descended from the family of glorious Narimân." Rustam, in order to frighten the young warrior with the idea, that Rustam was a more powerful and stronger man than the strong-built man before him, says an untruth, and denies his being Rustam. "I am neither Rustam, nor am I of the family of Sâm Narimân. He is a great warrior and I am much inferior to him. I neither possess the throne nor the crown."[1]

12. In both the stories we find that the hearts of the sons, while fighting with their fathers, are touched with feelings of tenderness and filial affection. In the Irish story Conloch, while refusing to answer the questions of Cucullin, and while declining his offers of peace, says:—

> "Yet hear me own, that, did the vow of chivalry allow,
> I would not thy request withstand,
> But gladly take, in peace, thy proffer'd hand.
> So does that face each hostile thought control;
> So does that noble mien possess my soul."

In the Persian story Sohrâb says to Houmân: "My feelings are affected by looking to (his stature,) his feet and his stirrups. My face is covered with shame (to fight against him). I find (in him) all

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[1] بدو گفت کز تو بپرسم سخن
همه راستی باید افگند بن
یکایک نژادت مرا یاد دار
ز گفتار خوبت مرا شاد دار
من ایدون گمانم که تو رستمی
که از تخمهٔ نامور نیرمی
چنین داد پاسخ که رستم نیم
هم از تخمهٔ سام نیرم نیم
که او پهلوانست و من کهترم
نه با تخت و گاهم نه با افسرم

Vuller, I., p., 488.

the marks pointed out by my mother, and I tremble in my heart for him."[1]

13. According to both stories, the single combat between the generals was unprecedented, and lasted very long. The Irish story says:

"Dire was the strife each valiant arm maintain'd,
And undecided long their fates remain'd;
For, till that hour, no eye had ever view'd
A field so fought, a conquest so pursu'd!"

According to Firdousi, "they fought with each other from sunrise to sunset."

14. According to both the stories, the older generals, before killing their younger antagonists, were very hard-pressed. Cucullin was hard-pressed at first by his young antagonist, Conloch, when—

"At length Cucullin's kindling soul arose;
Indignant shame recruited fury lends;
With fatal aim his glittering lance he throws,
And low on earth the dying youth extends."

In the Persian story also we find Rustam very hard-pressed at first. In the first combat he was thrown down upon the ground by Sohrâb. Then he prayed to God for additional strength, and threw down and killed Sohrâb in the second combat.

15. It appears from both the stories that the sons did not take full advantage of their strength as young men, against their aged antagonists. Conloch, out of affectionate feelings for Cucullin did not use all his strength to overpower him. When later on he was stabbed by his father, he says to him:

"But, Ah Cucullin!—dauntless knight!—
Ah!—had'st thou better mark'd the fight!
Thy skill in arms might soon have made thee know
That I was only half a foe!

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[1] ز پای و رکیبش همی مهر من
بجنبد بشرم آورد چهر من
نشانهای مادر بیابم همی
بدل نیز لختی بتابم همی

Vuller, I, p. 497.

Thou would'st have seen, for glory though I fought,
Defence,—not blood I sought.
Thou would'st have seen, from that dear breast,
Nature and love thy Conloch's arm arrest!
Thou would'st have seen his spear instinctive stray;
And, when occasion dar'd its force,
Still from that form it fondly turn'd away,
And gave to air its oourse."

Sohrâb, when he first threw Rustam to the ground, raised his dagger to stab him, but being soon moved by the words of Rustam, for whom, in the midst of fight, he entertained tender feelings, he let him go. Like Conloch, Sohrâb, when wounded with the fatal blow, thus reminds Rustam of it: "I was kind to you in every way, but you did not show me a particle of favour."[1]

The most touching parts in both the stories are the lamentations of the fathers when they know that they have killed their own sons.

There is one great difference between these two stories. In the Persian story, both the father and the son do not know each other and so both fight in utter ignorance of each other. But in the Irish story, Conloch, the son, knows his father, Cucullin, but fights with him in accordance with the rules of chivalry which Cucullin had asked his wife to communicate to their child, in case the child should be a son. Cucullin's injunctions for his son's conduct were: "That he should never reveal his name to a foe; that he should not give way to any man who seemed to demand it as a right; and that he should never decline the single combat with any knight under the sun."

Now, the question is, which is the home of these two stories? It seems that ancient Irân was the country where the touching story had its home. The very name of Ireland suggests that the country was originally inhabited by a tribe from the ancient Aryans, the common ancestors of the Irânians of Firdousi and of other adjoining nations. Again, has not the word Erin, used in the above Irish poem of Cucullin as an ancient name of Ireland, a close resemblance with the name of Irân? Firdousi's poem of Rustam and Sohrâb, which forms a small part of his whole epio is, as compared to the Irish poem, a very long

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[1] زهرگونه بودم ترا رهنمای
نجنبید یک ذره مهرت زجای

Vuller, I., p. 504.

one. Again, according to Persian writers, and according to Bundehesh, the time when Rustam, the national hero of Irân lived, was very old. It appears, therefore, that the story had, with several other stories, passed orally from the East to the West. It is possible that the Celts took it with them to Ireland.

According to M. Mohl, this tradition of a son, fighting in ignorance with his father, is also found among other nations besides the Irish. "J. Grimm has published some fragments of a German poem of the 8th century which rests upon a similar foundation, and Dietrich has published a Russian tale which gives a similar story."[1] It appears from an article in the *Academy* of 19th April 1890, written by Mr. H. Krebs, and headed "Firdousi and the Old High German lay of Hildebrand" that "Green in his Critical Edition of Hildebrandsleid (Gottinger, 1858) has first pointed out a striking parallel between the German song and the Persian episode." Mr. Krebs also mentions in connection with this episode, the classical legend of Œdipus in which it is the son who slays his father in ignorance. A comparison of the abovenamed similar German and Russian songs by some members of our Society, interested in Aryan folk-song, is likely to throw a strong light on the question of the origin of the story. Leaving aside the question of its home, we have seen in this paper that the Irish story is similar to the Persian, not only in its main features, but also in some of its details.

[1] Mohl, 1876, small edition, Vol. I., p. lxxi.